# DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 447 017 SO 032 208

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|---|---|
| TITLE | Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era. Teacher's Resource Book [and Student Guidebook]. Public Policy Debate in the Classroom: Choices for the 21st Century Education Project. 7th Edition. |
| INSTITUTION | Brown Univ., Providence, RI. Thomas J. Watson, Jr. Inst. for International Studies. |
| ISBN | ISBN-1-891306-30-8 |
| PUB DATE | 2000-08-00 |
| NOTE | 109p. |
| AVAILABLE FROM | Choices for the 21st Century Education Project, Watson Institute for International Studies, Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912 ($15 per teacher/student set); Web site: (http://www.choices.edu). |
| PUB TYPE | Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052) |
| EDRS PRICE | EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS. |
| DESCRIPTORS | Communism; Economic Development; Economics; Foreign Countries; *Foreign Policy; *Futures (of Society); Government (Administrative Body); *International Relations; Political Science; Secondary Education; *Social Change; Social Studies; Social Systems; *Socialism |
| IDENTIFIERS | *Russia |

ABSTRACT

This teacher resource text and student text are part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues, placing special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens. It examines the debate on Russia's identity from a Russian perspective in the areas of economic development, political organization, and foreign policy. At the core of the unit are three distinct directions, or Futures, for Russia in the coming years. Each Future is grounded in a clearly defined philosophy about Russia's place in the world and offers broad guidelines on fundamental public policy issues in Russia. The background reading prepares students to assess Russia's policy choices. Part 1 surveys key periods of change in Russian history, ranging from the reign of Peter the Great to the Mikhail Gorbachev era. Part 2 reviews the momentous changes that have taken place in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union, focusing in particular on new political thinking, economic reform, and Russia's evolving international relations. Includes five- and three-day lesson plans. (BB)

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# Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era.

## Teacher's Resource Book [and Student Book].

## Public Policy Debate in the Classroom: Choices for the 21st Century Education Project.

## 7th Edition.

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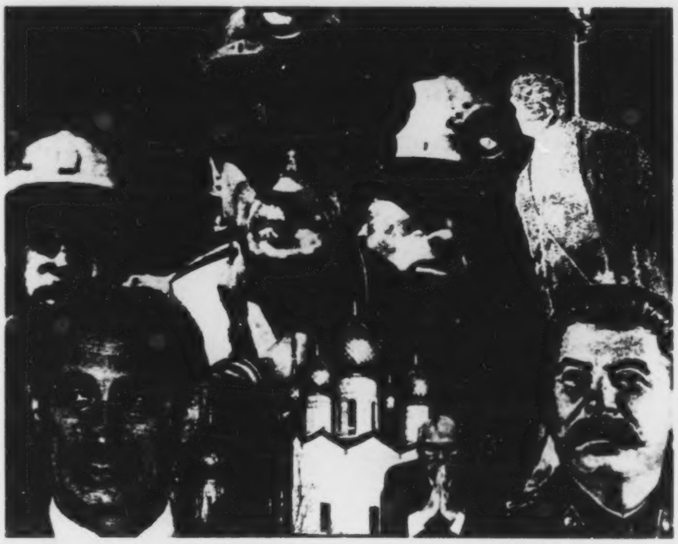
**CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY**

### Teacher's Resource Book

# Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era



PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project

A program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr.
Institute for International Studies

Brown University

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project staff with the assistance of the research staff of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and several other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input:

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Special thanks also to the high school teachers who tested drafts of this material in their classrooms prior to publication: Don Bakker of North Eastham, Massachusetts; Candace Fisk of Springfield, Missouri; and David Weiss of Rockville Centre, New York.

To Michael Barton of Kingsboro, Massachusetts, Patricia Clancy of Vernon, New Jersey, and Ron Levitsky of Northfield, Illinois, we extend our appreciation for helping us to revise the format of Choices units to make them responsive to a wider variety of student learning styles.

*Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* is part of a continuing series on public policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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***August 2000***

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University.

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THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROJECT is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

THE THOMAS J. WATSON JR. INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners, who are committed to studying global problems and developing international initiatives to benefit society.

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Single units (consisting of a student text and a teacher's resource book) are available for $15 each. Classroom sets (15 or more student texts) may be ordered at $7 per copy. A teacher's resource book is included free with each classroom set. Orders should be addressed to: Choices Education Project, Watson Institute for International Studies, Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912. Please see the order form in the back of this unit or visit our website at <http://www.choices.edu>. ISBN 1-891306-30-8 TRB

# About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

**Understanding the Significance of History:** Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

**Exploring Policy Alternatives:** Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

**Exercising Civic Judgment:** Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

**Why Use the Choices Approach?** Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

# Note to Teachers

For centuries, the Russian people have wrestled with questions of identity. They have been torn between Asia and Europe, authoritarianism and liberalism, their attachment to the land and the attractions of the city, their spiritual richness and the pull of modern science. The struggle has produced many of the world's greatest writers, composers, and other artists. At the same time, it has resulted in a seemingly schizophrenic national character and has left deep political divisions. Today, Russia is passing through another time of troubles.

*Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* draws students into the debate on Russia's identity. Unlike most units of the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project, *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* is not written from an American perspective. Rather, students are asked to see the world through Russian eyes and to contemplate Russian choices in the areas of economic development, political organization, and foreign policy.

At the core of the unit are three distinct directions, or Futures, for Russia in the coming years. Each Future is grounded in a clearly defined philosophy about Russia's place in the world and offers broad guidelines on fundamental public policy issues in Russia. By exploring a spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the values and assumptions underlying Russia's ongoing political turmoil. The background reading prepares students to assess Russia's policy choices. Part I surveys key periods of change in Russian history, ranging from the reign of Peter the Great to the Gorbachev era. Students are called upon to weigh the implications of past reform efforts for Russia's current situation, and also to appreciate how Russians view their history. Part II reviews the momentous changes that have taken place in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union, focusing in particular on new political thinking, economic reform, and Russia's evolving international relations.

**Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan:** The Teacher's Resource Book accompanying *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The unit opens with students role playing the six historical figures featured in Part I of the background reading. The next lesson calls on students to consider how Russian television programming reflects the values and tastes of viewers in the new Russia. The third and fourth days of the lesson plan involve students in a simulation in which they act as advocates for the three Futures or take on the role of Russian voters. On the fifth day, students draft a campaign platform for Russia based on their own values and beliefs. An optional lesson offers the opportunity to explore Russia's Constitution. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful.

- **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of background reading is accompanied by two distinct study guides. The standard study guide is designed to help students harvest the information provided in the background readings in preparation for tackling analysis and synthesis within classroom activities. The advanced study guide requires the student to tackle analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

- **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The background reading in *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them "Key Terms" found in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB) on page TRB-26 before they begin their assignment. A "Charting Russia's Future Issues Toolbox" is also included on page TRB-27. This provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance.

The lesson plans offered in *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* are provided as a guide. They are designed for traditional class periods of approximately 50 minutes. Those on block schedules will need to make adaptations. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

## Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* might fit into your curriculum.

**Forms of Government:** The questions facing Russia in the post-Soviet era go far beyond the issues involving the privatization of industry or Russian relations with the West. Rather, Russians are caught up in a debate about what form of government is most appropriate for their country. Advocates of a wide spectrum of political systems — Western-style democracy, communism, fascism, and even monarchy — have entered the fray in present-day Russia. On a more mundane level, the balance of power between Moscow and Russia's regional governments has yet to be defined. For a unit on comparative politics or the Constitutional Convention, Russia's experience serves as a compelling case study.

**Economic Reform:** The collapse of the Soviet economic system opened the door to free-wheeling economic experimentation in Russia. Proponents of "shock therapy" unleashed the forces of the free market in 1992. Supporters of the Soviet system defended central planning and resisted privatization. The monetary controls and tax policies of reformers have fallen in and out of favor. For students of economic theory, Russia serves as a real-world laboratory. The post-Soviet economy contains elements of unfettered capitalism, communist state planning, and almost everything in between. In addition, Russia's experience invites comparisons with China's efforts toward economic reform.

**Russian Revolution:** Political crisis is certainly nothing new in Russia. Parallels to Russia's current turmoil can be found at several junctures of Russian history. For high school students, a particularly engaging exercise is to compare and contrast the trials of present-day Russia with the events of the Russian Revolution. The struggle of the provisional government in 1917 to establish a democratic framework provides a springboard for examining Russia's post-Soviet transition. Moreover, the political spectrum during the time of Alexander Kerensky's government offered Russians a range of choices that are similar to those presented today.

**Societies in Crisis:** The 20th century contains numerous examples of modern, industrial societies that have experienced wrenching periods of crisis. For purposes of comparison, *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* best serves as a complement to the study of Weimar Germany, Depression-era America, and post-World War II Western Europe. In each of these cases, severe economic problems led societies to re-examine their political assumptions and reassess their roles in the world.

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# Russia's Troubled Legacy of Reform

**Objectives:**

*Students will:*

- Analyze the accomplishments and failures of key periods of change in Russian history.
- Identify the values that have shaped Russia's political development.
- Assume the roles of historical figures and articulate reasoned viewpoints from six key periods in Russian history.

**Required Reading:**

Before beginning the unit, students should have read Part I of the background reading in the Student Text (pages 1-12) and completed "Study Guide — Part I" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 4-5) or "Advanced Study Guide — Part I" (TRB-6).

**Handouts:**

- "Russia's Historical Legacy" (TRB-7) for the historical groups.

**In the Classroom:**

*1. Introduction* — Explain to students that the unit they are beginning calls on them to wrestle with the most basic questions about the direction of Russian society. By way of comparison, ask students to consider the issues that faced the delegates to the Constitutional Convention. How do the challenges facing U.S. leaders in the 1780s compare to those confronting Russians today?

*2a. Historical Groups* — Form six groups of students. Assign each of the groups a historical figure from Part I of the background reading (i.e., either Peter the Great, Alexander II, Nicholas II, Lenin, Stalin, or Mikhail Gorbachev). Distribute "Russia's Historical Legacy" to each group.

*2b. Audience Members* — The remainder of the class should develop questions to be directed to the historical figures. Explain that the second half of Day One will follow a television talk show format, with the groups representing historical figures making brief presentations and then fielding questions from the audience. (See "Russia's Historical Legacy") Audience members should draw on Part I of the background reading to draft at least two questions for each historical figure. For example, an appropriate question for Nicholas II would be: *In what respect did Russia's traditions impede your agricultural reforms?*

*3. Managing the Simulation* — After students have completed their preparations, call on the talk show hosts to take charge of the presentations for their respective groups. Remind those speaking to stay in their assigned roles. After each presentation, invite members of the audience to ask questions.

*4. Guiding Discussion* — After the role play, ask students to compare the six leaders. Were they linked by common goals? Did they confront common obstacles? What advice would each historical figure give Russia's leaders today? Emphasize that Russia's political development has often been shaped by values that contrast with those dominating our country's political culture. For examples, ask students to compare the values motivating Peter the Great with the values guiding the first generation of U.S. leaders. How did Russia's history and geography mold the worldview of Peter the Great and his contemporaries? Likewise, how did the Russian experience in the 20th century influence the values underlying Gorbachev's *perestroika?*

**Homework:**

Students should read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 13-26) and complete "Study Guide — Part II" (TRB 9-10) or "Advanced Study Guide — Part II" (TRB-11).

Name: ____________________

## Study Guide — Part I
### Learning from Russia's Past

1. Why was Vladimir Lenin once a revered figure among Russians?

2. a. How has geography reinforced a sense of isolation in Russia?

   b. Why do Russians traditionally think of themselves as unique?

3. What three questions are Russian now considering about their future?

4. Modern Russian history can be divided into two main segments: the ____________________, which lasted from the ________ century to _________ and the ___________ era that began in _________ and continued until _______________.

5. List three things that the Soviet Union guaranteed its citizens.

   a.

   b.

   c.

6. Who was Alexander Kerensky?

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7. Russia lacks a tradition of democracy. Explain why this is so.

8. Historically, where has change originated in Russia? What have been the driving forces behind change?

9. Fill in the chart below based on the background reading.

| Ruler | Years of Rule | Major Policies, Accomplishments, or Failures |
|---|---|---|
| Peter the Great | | |
| Alexander II | | |
| Nicholas II | | |
| Vladimir Lenin | | |
| Josef Stalin | | |
| Mikhail Gorbachev | | |

Name:

## Advanced Study Guide — Part I

### Learning from Russia's Past

1. What accounts for the belief held by many Russians that their country has a special mission in the world?

2. Why was Peter the Great eager to expose his country to the changes taking place in Western Europe?

3. In what ways did Russia become more Westernized under Alexander II?

4. How did Nicholas II try to control the forces pushing Russia toward revolution?

5. How did the reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev contribute to the collapse of the Soviet Union?

# Russia's Historical Legacy

## *Your Assignment*

Your group has been given the responsibility of making a brief presentation to your classmates about an important leader in Russian history. Your group's presentation will follow the format of a television talk show. Individual group members will explain the views of their assigned characters and then field questions from the audience. While members of your group are in front of the class, they are expected to play the role of their assigned characters.

Your group should review the section of Part I of the background reading that deals with the historical figure you have been assigned. You are also encouraged to make use of other resources, such as encyclopedias, to gather information about your historical figure.

## *Organizing Your Group*

Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. *Talk show host:* Your job is to organize and direct the overall presentation of your group. You should plan to ask the other members of your group a few questions. The questions should be designed to allow your partners to fully explain their roles to the class. Work closely with the other members of your group to develop good questions.

2. *Historical figure:* Your job is to play the role of the historical figure assigned to your group. You will respond to questions by your group's talk show host, taking no more than three minutes for your interview. You will then field questions from the audience. Prepare yourself to discuss the reforms that took place under your rule.

3. *Supporter of historical figure:* Your job is to play the role of a supporter of the historical figure assigned to your group. You will respond to questions by your group's talk show host, taking no more than three minutes for your interview. You will then field questions from the audience. You should begin your preparations by clearly defining your role. To which social class would a supporter of your group's historical figure most likely belong? What would be his or her occupation? What would be the basis for his or her support of your group's historical figure? Prepare yourself to answer these and other questions.

4. *Opponent of historical figure:* Your job is to play the role of an opponent of the historical figure assigned to your group. You will respond to questions by your group's talk show host, taking no more than three minutes for your interview. You will then field questions from the audience. You should begin your preparations by clearly defining your role. To which social class would an opponent of your group's historical figure most likely belong? What would be his or her occupation? What would be the basis for his or her opposition to your group's historical figure? Prepare yourself to answer these and other questions.

## Changing Channels: Television and Culture in the New Russia

***Objectives:***

*Students will:*

- Assess Russia's transformation through the changing tastes of Russian television viewers.
- Compare the culture and values of ordinary Russians with those of Americans.
- Develop ideas for television programs designed to appeal to Russian viewers.

***Required Reading:***

Students should have read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 13-26) and completed "Study Guide — Part II" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 9-10) or "Study Guide — Part II" (TRB-11).

***Handouts:***

- "Tuning into Russian Television" (TRB 12-13).

***In the Classroom:***

1. *Recalling the Soviet Era* — Distribute "Tuning into Russian Television" to each student. Explain that television during the Soviet era emphasized news, cultural programming, and documentaries. Soviet-made films often stressed communist values, such as the sacrifice of World War II or commitment to economic development. As students read the program descriptions featured in the handout, ask them to consider how the programming reflects the broader changes that have taken place in Russian society.

2. *Assessing Preferences and Values* — After students have read the handout, call on them to share their responses to the "Questions for consideration." Suggest that they focus on the cultural legacy of the Soviet era. What aspects of the Soviet experience continue to be reflected in the viewing habits of Russians today? What has changed since the Soviet collapse? Ask students to compare the tastes of Russians viewers with those of the United States. What accounts for the differences? How is Russian television programming likely to change in the coming years? (Note that Russian broadcasters are increasingly unable to afford quality programming from the United States and other Western countries. As a result, foreign programs in general no longer garner the high ratings they achieved in the early 1990s.)

3. *Targeting the Russian Audience* — Instruct students to imagine that they are developing programming for Russian television. Which American shows would be most popular in Russia? What factors would account for their appeal? Which popular programs in the United States would likely fail in Russia?

***Extra Challenge:***

Ask students to propose three new programs for the Russian Public Television network. Suggest that the proposed programs may be adaptations of existing American shows. Each proposal should included a brief description of the contents of the program, a profile of the target audience, and an explanation of why the program would appeal to Russian viewers.

***Homework:***

Students should read each of the three Futures in the student text (pages 27-33).

Name:

## Study Guide — Part II
### Exploring the New Russia

1. List three ways that Russia has changed since the end of the Soviet Union.

   a.

   b.

   c.

2. Describe the events that led to Vladimir Putin becoming the Russian President.

3. Identify and describe the ideology of the three main political groups in Russia today.

   a.

   b.

   c.

4. For the oligarchs, politics are less about ______________________ than about control of Russia's key ____________________, ________________, and _______________ institutions.

5. List three steps that President Putin has taken to control the power of regional leaders.

   a.

   b.

   c.

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6. Explain how the war in Chechnya affected Putin's popularity in Russia.

7. Russia's economic reforms during the first-half of the 1990s were successful. True of false. Explain your answer.

8. List the ways that the old Soviet system has an effect on the current economy in the following areas.

a. technological innovation:

b. the environment:

c. agriculture:

9. In human terms, the losers in Russia's transformation far outnumber the winners. One-third of the country's population gets by on less than ________ per month. Death rates for working age Russians are higher than they were________________. Life expectancy for males is ____________. Experts believe that Russia's population could shrink by_________ to _______ million by 2025.

10. List two ways that the Russian military has been affected by its reduced budget since the end of the Soviet Union.

a.

b.

11. What two events have put the most strain on relations between the United States and Russia. Explain your answer.

12. Why have some objected to Russia receiving funding from the IMF?

Name:

## Advanced Study Guide — Part II

### Exploring the New Russia

1. How do the views of the communists and nationalists in Russia differ from those of democratic reformers?

2. What accounts for the independence of Russia's regional leaders?

3. Why did the "shock therapy" program of economic reform encounter strong resistance?

4. How has Russia's economy changed since the collapse of the Soviet Union?

5. How have Russia's new millionaires grown rich through their country's economic reform program? Why do many Russians favor a return to the old Soviet economic system?

6. Why has Russia lost influence within the former Soviet Union?

7. What accounts for the change in Russia's relationship with the West since 1993?

# Tuning into Russian Television

*Introduction:* Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian television has changed dramatically. The three state-run networks of the Soviet era have been bought, at least in part, by private interests, and new stations have sprung up to offer competition. New programs have gone on the air that would not have been permitted under Soviet rule. Ratings and profits, not the demands of the Communist Party, now guide the decisions of television executives.

This exercise is designed to give you an insight into the tastes of Russian viewers. Below is a list of the most popular regular programs (ranked in order) aired by Russia's leading broadcaster, Russian Public Television. In recent years, Russian Public Television has regained its position as Russia's top network by emphasizing entertainment programs over art and culture. As you read the program descriptions, consider how the programming reflects the broader changes that have taken place in Russian society.

### *KVN*

Part talent show, part improvisational comedy, part quiz bowl, *KVN* puts the skills of several teams on display in a fast-paced competition. *KVN* (which stands for "witty and merry youth club") dates back to televised contests among clubs of university students in the 1970s. Even today, teams from throughout the former Soviet Union regularly compete.

### *Magic Field*

*Magic Field* is an exciting and educational quiz show that touches on a broad range of intellectual topics, such as art, nature, and science. Contestants are chosen from a pool of applicants who have sent in a photo, a brief autobiography, and an original short story. Each show consists of three rounds: interaction with the studio audience, head-to-head competition, and a supergame for the winner. Contestants are encouraged by the host to demonstrate their inventiveness, sense of humor, and artistic ability.

### *What? When? Where?*

The most successful teams from *KVN* (see the description of *KVN* above) make use of their wit to compete for entry into the "International Connoisseurs Club".

### *White Parrot Club*

The *White Parrot Club* brings together veteran Russian entertainers, cultural figures, and athletes around a well-stocked banquet table. The show's guests share their favorite jokes and personal experiences with each other and the studio audience.

### *Panorama of Laughter*

*Panorama of Laughter* takes a serious look at the art of leading Russian stand-up comedians, past and present. Host Evgeny Petrosian examines the theory and history of stand-up comedy in a talk-show format with popular humorists and satirists. The show makes extensive use of film and audio archives dating from the Soviet period.

### *Gentlemen Show*

*Gentlemen Show* is hosted by former members of a student team (see the description of *KVN* above) representing Odessa, Ukraine. Now well-established comedians, the hosts fire off jokes and anecdotes and perform comedy sketches.

### *Guess the Melody*

A music quiz show, *Guess the Melody* calls on contestants to identify musical selections after hearing a few notes. The program features a wide spectrum of music, ranging from contemporary popular songs to classical compositions. Host Valdis Pelsh combines humor and wit with a serious approach to music as contestants compete for cash prizes. The presence of a full orchestra and a concert hall setting add to the cultural experience.

### Songs of the Year

*Songs of the Year* showcases performances from the winners of Russia's annual pop music contest, as well as from other national favorites. The program has been a mainstay of Soviet and Russian television since the early 1970s.

### Time

*Time* is Russia's only daily news broadcast covering the nation and the world. Both the name and format of the program date from the Soviet era.

### Peaktime Hour

Each day consists of a twenty-minute live interview featuring a leading figure in the news.

### Theme

Russia's first national television talk show, *Theme*,touches on many of the same topics familiar to American audiences, ranging from drug abuse to fashion to the crisis in Russia's military.

### We

*We* focuses on the problems of the new Russia. The talk show's host, Vladimir Pozner, grew up in the United States and brings an American style to Russian television. His guests represent a cross-section of Russian society, from politicians and business executives to scientists and artists. Many guests remain masked throughout the show to protect their anonymity and encourage candid discussion.

### People and the Law

*People and the Law* examines Russia's new legal system, with special attention given to the concerns of average citizens. Viewers have an opportunity to address their questions to Russia's top law enforcement officials.

### To Remember

Actors, films, and plays from the Soviet era are recalled and celebrated in *To Remember*.

### While Everybody is at Home

Airing on Sunday morning, the show takes viewers into the homes of famous entertainers for light conversation, music, and household tips.

**Questions for consideration**

1. What are some of the common themes of Russia's most highly rated programs?

2. What do the viewing habits of Russians tell you about Russian attitudes toward the Soviet past?

3. How do the tastes of Russian viewers differ from American preferences?

## Exploring the Three Futures: Organization and Preparation

**Objectives:**

*Students will:*

- Analyze the issues that frame the debate on the direction of Russia's reform.
- Identify the core underlying values of the Futures.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the Futures and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Weigh the ramifications of the Futures from a Russian perspective.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

**Handouts:**

- "Presenting Your Future" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB-15) for the Future groups.
- "Expressing Key Values" (TRB-16) for the Future groups.
- "Speaking for the Russian Electorate" (TRB 17-18) for the voter groups.

**In the Classroom:**

*1. Planning for Group Work* — In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period of Day Three, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

*2a. Future Groups* — Form three groups of four students. Assign a Future to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Future" and "Expressing Key Values" to the three Future groups. Inform students that each Future group will be called on in Day Four to present the case for its assigned Future to a group of Russian voters. Explain that Future groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Future." Note that the Future groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

*2b. Voter Groups* — Divide the remainder of the class into six groups and distribute "Speaking for the Russian Electorate" to each group. Assign each of the voter groups one of the following roles. (In smaller classes, groups may be assigned to more than one role.)

a. Yuri Popov — Factory worker
b. Alexander Medvedev — Businessman
c. Olga Bezrukhova — Farm worker
d. Anna Morozova — Diamond mine director
e. Galina Markova — Retired pensioner
f. Dmitri Krepkin — Soldier

While the Future groups are preparing their presentations, members of the voter groups should develop questions to be directed to the Future groups on Day Four. Each voter group should prepare at least five questions for each of the Futures. (See "Speaking for the Russian Electorate.") Remind voter groups that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

**Extra Challenge:**

Ask the Future groups to design a campaign poster illustrating the best case for their Futures. Likewise, voter groups may be asked to design a poster or political cartoon expressing their concerns.

**Homework:**

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

# Presenting Your Future

## *Preparing Your Presentation*

Your Assignment: Your group is scheduled to appear before a gathering of Russian voters. Your assignment is to persuade the voters that your Future should serve as Russia's guiding philosophy in the coming years. You will be judged on how well you present your Future.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. *Spokesperson:* Your job is to explain the position of your group to the voters in a three-to-five minute presentation. In preparing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. You should include arguments from their areas of expertise. Keep in mind, though, that you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group. Read your Future and review the background reading to build a strong case for your Future. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

2. *Economic adviser:* Your job is to tell the spokesperson of your group why your Future is justified from an economic standpoint. You should draw on both history and current events to support your position. Read your Future, paying close attention to the paragraph on economic policy, and then review the sections of the background reading that deal with your area of expertise. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

3. *Political adviser:* Your job is to tell the spokesperson of your group why your Future is justified from the standpoint of Russia's political development. You should draw on both history and current events to support your position. Read your Future, paying close attention to the paragraph on political policy, and then review the sections of the background reading that deal with your area of expertise. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

4. *Foreign policy adviser:* Your job is to tell the spokesperson of your group why your Future is justified from a foreign policy standpoint. You should draw on both history and current events to support your position. Read your Future, paying close attention to the paragraph on foreign policy, and then review the sections of the background reading that deal with your area of expertise. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

## *Making Your Case*

After your preparations are complete, your spokesperson will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the gathering of Russian voters. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and other notes may be used, but the spokesperson should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentation, you should try to identify the weak points of the other Futures. After all of the groups have presented their Futures, the voters will ask you questions. Any member of your group may respond during the question-and-answer period.

Name: ______________________________

# Expressing Key Values

The notion of values lies at the core of this unit. Each of the three Futures in this unit revolves around a distinct set of values The opening two paragraphs of your Future are devoted to making a convincing case for the values that are represented. The term "values," however, is not easy to define. Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values.

Values play a critical role in political decisions as well. In the United States, our country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. The high value many Americans place on freedom, democracy, and individual liberty rings loudly throughout U.S. history. In the 20th century especially, government policy has often promoted the values of stability, security, cooperation, and equal opportunity. Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. Americans are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in our ongoing debate about public policy.

In today's time of upheaval, the people of Russia face similar challenges. Russians share many of the same values we espouse. Other fundamental Russian values, such as the acceptance of authority and the emphasis on economic equality, are less commonly held by Americans. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values of your Future. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your Future?

   a.

   b.

2. According to the values of your Future, what should be Russia's role in the world?

3. Why should the values of your Future be the guiding force for setting Russia's course?

## Speaking for the Russian Electorate

Understanding Your Role. Your group has been called upon to express the concerns of a Russian voter. You will take part in a forum for members of the Russian Duma. You will hear about three distinct political philosophies, or Futures, for Russia in the coming years. You are expected to evaluate each of the Futures from the perspective of the character your group has been designated to represent. Your group will be assigned one of the following roles.

### *1. Yuri Popov — Factory worker*

You work in a large electronics factory in western Siberia. Your factory has suffered a sharp drop in orders in recent years, due mostly to cuts in military spending. Meanwhile, the consumer products your factory produces lack the quality of imports from East Asia and the West. Although the managers of your factory became the owners under privatization, there has been no investment in new technology. Instead, hundreds of your co-workers have been let go. In the meantime, your wages have not kept pace with inflation. This year, you were not paid at all for three months. You are unable to buy more than bread, potatoes, and cabbage for your family. At 52 years old and possessing few skills, your chances are poor of finding another job if you are laid off.

*Your View:* "What's happening now in Russia isn't reform. It's chaos. Russia has gone from being a powerful country that the world respected to being a beggar. I hold the so-called 'reformers' responsible for this. They are thieves who have stolen our country's wealth and stashed it abroad. If Russia is to get back on track, we have to remember what made us strong in the first place. Factories like the one I work in are the flesh and blood of our nation. They can't be allowed to close down."

### *2. Alexander Medvedev — Businessman*

Since the collapse of communism, you have become involved in trade with Western Europe. You have been particularly successful at exporting Russian artwork and handicrafts. The nature of your work requires you to share your profits with organized crime, an arrangement that you accept as one of the costs of doing business. Although you are only 25 years old, your income is already six times as much as that of your parents, who are both engineers. Your business, which is based in Moscow, has allowed you to travel in Western Europe and buy Western goods that the great majority of Russians cannot afford.

*Your View:* "People who want to return to the old days of the Soviet Union have conveniently forgotten how limited our lives were back then. There was no opportunity for someone to advance using his or her own talents. Learning about the world outside of the Soviet bloc was a struggle. Travelling to Western Europe was almost out of the question. Now at least we have a chance to succeed. Of course, life is tough for many of my relatives and neighbors, but in time things will improve. Regardless, there's no turning back. There's no place for the Soviet system in today's world."

### *3. Olga Bezrukhova — Farm worker*

You work on a large state-run wheat farm in southern Russia, not far from the Black Sea. Life on the farm has always been difficult, but in recent years conditions have worsened. Spare parts for broken farm equipment and storage facilities seldom arrive. Each year, your farm loses a big share of its grain to rot and mice. At 31 years old, you are lucky to at least have a two-acre plot of your own to grow vegetables and raise chickens for your family. You are also able to sell the surplus in a nearby city.

*Your View:* "I don't claim to be an expert on politics. I only know what I see personally, and what I see tells me that Russia needs to put its house in order. Our state-run farm has always been poorly managed. Now it's worse than ever. Even in a good year we lose money. The politicians in Moscow can't be bothered with the people in the countryside. They're too busy filling their pockets with bribes. But in the end, Russia needs us. How can Russia survive without wheat? It's humiliating to beg for grain from the United States. The politicians have to give our farm the supplies and equipment we need. I also want to farm more land on my own. I'm not afraid to work hard if the politicians ever get around to writing proper laws on the buying and selling land."

### 4. Anna Morozova — Diamond mine director

You are the director of a diamond mine in the region of Sakha in eastern Siberia. Your mine is located in an area that contains one of Russia's richest deposits of diamonds. You have been approached by several Western investors hoping to enter into a partnership with your enterprise. They have pledged to provide your mine with new technology that could double production. The authorities in Moscow, however, have limited your decision-making power and blocked foreign investment. At 45 years old, you earn a good salary compared to most Russians, but you are poorly paid by international standards.

*Your View:* "As far as I'm concerned, Russia needs to go forward, not backward. Our mine has an opportunity to turn around the economy of a good portion of Sakha. The main force holding us back is Moscow. The newly rich tycoons and bureaucrats there have managed to get their hands on almost everything of value in this country, including the biggest share of our enterprise. Their interest is to squeeze as much money out of this mine as possible, without putting a kopek back in new equipment. Instead of allowing us to get technology from abroad, they've scared away foreign investors with absurd regulations, high taxes, and Mafia intimidation. Before Russia can get ahead, we have to break Moscow's hold over the economy."

### 5. Galina Markova — Retired pensioner

You are a 74-year-old widow living off a government pension in northern Russia. During your working years, you and your husband were employed at a textile factory and earned below-average salaries. Like almost all Russians at the time, you saved only a few hundred rubles for emergencies and expected the government to provide for you during your retirement. Now that the Soviet system has collapsed, most of your old assumptions are no longer valid. The purchasing power of your pension has shrunk over recent years to the point that today you can afford little more than bread and tea. With no children and your husband deceased, you may have no choice but to turn to your sister's family for help.

*Your View:* "I've never asked much from life, but I expected that I would at least be able to live out my final years in peace and comfort. Now everything has fallen to pieces. I worked for almost fifty years and what do I have to show for it? I can't even afford sugar for my tea. It's not right. Meanwhile, these Mafia thugs have new cars and more money than they know what to do with. Everyday they're killing each other, as well as innocent people. They want me to sell my apartment to them so they can resell it for a profit. I told them that they'll have to kill me first. What a country we live in. I don't understand politics. All I know is that these changes have come from the devil."

### 6. Dmitri Krepkin — Soldier

You are a 30-year-old tank commander in the Russian army. In 1999, your unit was sent to fight in Chechnya. You lost many of your friends during an ambush by Chechen guerilla fighters. For the moment, your unit has returned to its base in western Russia. Because housing is scarce in the town where you are stationed, you, your wife, and your baby daughter are forced to share a one-bedroom apartment with another soldier and his family. If the war in Chechnya reignites, you will probably be sent into combat again. Meanwhile, you worry that you may lose your position altogether due to cutbacks in the military.

*Your View:* "Like most young people, I welcomed the changes that began with *perestroika* and *glasnost*. I thought that our everyday lives would be better and that we'd have a chance to see the world. I guess we were naive. Look what's happened to the army. In Chechnya, our troops were led into a slaughterhouse by stupid leaders. There was no organization, no planning. Our equipment was breaking down. This would have never happened during Soviet times. Can you imagine these Chechen bandits challenging the power of the Red Army? Never! Something has to be done to restore our country's discipline and self-respect."

Your Assignment: Your group should prepare at least five questions for each Future from the perspective of your assigned character. The questions should reflect the values, concerns, and interests of your assigned role. For example, an appropriate question about Future 1 from Yuri Popov would be: *Where would the investment and resources for our factory come from in the economic system that you propose?* On Day Four, you will have an opportunity to address some of your questions to the Future groups. At the end of the activity, you will be expected to turn in your questions.

## Exploring the Three Futures: Debate and Discussion

**Objectives:**

*Students will:*

- Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on Russia's future.
- Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on Russia's future.
- Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.
- Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

**Handouts:**

- "Evaluation Form" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB-20) for the voter groups.

**In the Classroom:**

1. *Setting the Stage* — Organize the room so that the Future groups face the voter groups. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to the voter groups. Instruct the voter groups to fill out the first part of their "Evaluation Form" during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. *Managing the Simulation* — Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the spokespersons for the Future groups. Encourage the spokespersons to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. *Guiding Discussion* — Following the presentations, invite members of the voter groups to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each voter has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all three Future groups. If time permits, encourage members of the Future groups to challenge the positions of competing groups. During cross-examination, allow any Future group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit questions after each Future is presented.)

**Homework:**

Students should review each of the three Futures in the student text (pages 27-33), then moving beyond the Futures they should fill out "Focusing Your Thoughts" (TRB-22).

Name:

## Evaluation Form

### Russian Voters

*Instructions:* Answer the questions below from the perspective of your assigned role.

1. According to each Future, what principles should guide Russia's economic policy?

   *Future 1:*

   *Future 2:*

   *Future 3:*

2. According to each Future, what principles should guide the development of Russia's political system?

   *Future 1:*

   *Future 2:*

   *Future 3:*

3. According to each Future, what principles should guide Russia's foreign policy?

   *Future 1:*

   *Future 2:*

   *Future 3:*

4. How would you be affected by the proposed course of action of each Future?

   *Future 1:*

   *Future 2:*

   *Future 3:*

5. Which of the three Futures would you support most strongly? Explain your reasoning.

## Charting Russia's Future

**Objectives:**

*Students will:*

- Articulate a coherent political program for Russia based on personally held values and historical understanding.
- Compare and contrast values and assumptions with classmates.
- Organize individual views into an effective persuasive essay.
- Offer reasoned arguments to support policy recommendations.

**Required Reading:**

Students should have read each of the three Futures in the student text (pages 27-33) and completed "Focusing Your Thoughts" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB-22).

**Handouts:**

- "Dorogiye Gospada" (TRB-23).
- "Russia Today — What is to be Done?" (TRB-24).

**In the Classroom:**

1. *Analyzing Beliefs* — Call on the voter groups to share their evaluations of the Future groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? To what extent did the Futures address the concerns of Russians? Review the beliefs in "Focusing Your Thoughts," noting the relationship between the beliefs and the Futures.

2. *Introducing "Dorogiye Gospada"* — Distribute "Dorogiye Gospada" (Dear Ladies and Gentlemen). Emphasize that the assignment in "Dorogiye Gospada" calls on students to imagine that they are appealing to Russian voters to support their program. The writing should be in the style of a campaign speech — persuasive and inspiring. Instruct students to use "Focusing Your Thoughts" as the basis for answering the questions of "Dorogiye Gospada."

3. *Sharing Ideas* — As students begin formulating their ideas for "Dorogiye Gospada," ask them to share their thoughts with the class. Which beliefs do students find most appealing? Which lessons from history seem most relevant? Ask students to consider their recommendations from the perspective of the roles assigned to the voter groups during the simulation. How would the views of the retired widow differ from those of the farm worker? What issues are most likely to create divisions within the Russian electorate? What factors account for the appeal of communists and hard-line nationalists?

4. *Coping with Crisis* — Distribute "Russia Today — What is to be Done?" Review with the class the immediate problems facing Russia's President, Vladimir Putin. Call on students to suggest strategies for coping with Russia's latest crisis, based on the principles they outlined in *"Dorogiye Gospada."* Which problems should be given the highest priority? Which will be most difficult to solve? Are Russia's economic difficulties likely to spark political unrest? Note that surveys indicate that Russians are generally pessimistic about their country's future. Is their pessimism justified? What are the grounds for optimism?

**Homework:**

Students should complete "Dorogiye Gospada."

Day Five

Name: ______________________________

## Focusing Your Thoughts

*Instructions:* You have had an opportunity to consider three Futures for Russia from a Russian point of view. Now it is your turn to look at each of the Futures from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the Futures address the concerns and hopes of the Russian people. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages.

### *Ranking the Futures*

Which of the Futures below do you prefer? Rank the Futures, with "1" being the best Future for Russia to follow.

___ **Future 1: Restore State Control**

___ **Future 2: Proceed with Firmness**

___ **Future 3: Look to the West**

### *Beliefs*

Considering the statements below will help you complete the worksheet "Dorogiye Gospada." Rate each of the statements according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ Russia and the countries of the West share a common set of goals and interests.

___ There will always be countries eager to take advantage of Russia's weaknesses.

___ Rapid change inevitably leads to problems.

___ The government's emphasis on military power has historically harmed the Russian people.

___ The political and economic systems of the West are destined to sweep over the entire world.

___ Russia can advance only if political passions are put aside.

___ Social stability and economic security are more important than individual freedoms.

___ Without a strong state, Russia would have long ago been crushed by invaders.

___ Unity with other Slavic peoples is vital for Russia's security and prosperity.

### *Creating Your Own Future*

Your next challenge is to create a Future that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one Future, or you may combine ideas from two or three Futures. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft a Future that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, you should not encourage foreign investment from the United States and Western Europe if you believe that Russia's long-term interests are in conflict with those of the West.

Name:

## "Dorogiye Gospada" (Dear Ladies and Gentlemen)

*Instructions:* You are interested in running for a seat in the Duma, the lower house of the Russian Parliament. In this exercise, you will outline a campaign speech based on your own ideas for Russia's future. Your responses to "Focusing Your Thoughts" should help you identify the guiding principles of your speech.

1. Write an introduction to your campaign speech that expresses the basic principles of your political philosophy for Russia.

2. Explain your proposals for Russia's economic development.

3. Explain your proposals for Russia's political system.

4. Explain your proposals for Russia's foreign policy.

5. In conclusion, explain how Russia will change over the next ten years if your proposals are adopted.

# Russia Today — What is to be Done?*

*Introduction:* The sudden resignation of Boris Yeltsin and the election of Vladimir Putin as President of Russia has sparked debate about Russia's future. In addition to questions about economic principles and foreign policy goals, the Russian government now faces immediate problems on several fronts. Below is a summary of the main issues that have emerged in the wake of Putin's rise to power. Drawing from the campaign speech you outlined in *"Dorogiye Gospada,"* how would you address Russia's most pressing challenges?

**Unrealistically high tax rates:** Revenue from tax collection has dropped as unrealistic rates lead most people to flout the law. The government is unable to fund basic social services.

**Power of the oligarchs:** A handful of powerful men control a huge percentage of Russia's economy which they obtained under dubious circumstances. They control some of the media and hold great influence over many politicians to preserve their tax breaks and sweetheart economic deals. They send much of the money they make out of the country, while over a third of the country remains in poverty.

**International credit dwindling:** In August 1998, the Russian government temporarily suspended paying the interest charges on its foreign debts. Most foreign investors have responded by turning away from Russia. Meanwhile, the IMF has been reluctant to release credit from the $22 billion loan package.

**Agricultural disaster:** Continuing economic inefficiency in 2000 has led to another poor grain harvest. Russia will need about ten million tons of grain from other countries to make up the shortfall. Ninety-five percent of farms are state-owned. Levels of subsidies to farms have grown in recent years, but production has decreased nonetheless.

**Declining birth rates:** Economic uncertainty and increasing death rates due to disease, malnutrition, and a lack of health care have led to a population that is shrinking by about 750,000 per year. Russia's population is expected to drop by one-third in the next 25 years.

**Military under threat:** The economic crisis has further undercut the ability of the Russian army to feed, clothe, and pay its troops. Rates of desertion are climbing. An ongoing war in Chechnya, which many Russians see as a fight against criminals and international terrorists, continues to claim the lives of Russian soldiers.

**Democracy or a strong state:** The economic hardships and humiliations of the Yeltsin years have led people to distrust the government's ability to accomplish any task. Many Russians long for a firm hand to stamp out corruption, to reduce the power of the oligarchs, and to defeat the Chechens. Others fear that the same firm hand might take away their newly found freedoms, such as the right to criticize the government in the press.

**Defiant regions:** Regional leaders have acted more independently as the economic clout of the central government has declined. Many believe that their regions may be better offer without Moscow's involvement.

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* *What is to be Done?* was the title of an essay written in 1902 by Lenin, in which he outlined the role of professional revolutionaries in carrying out a communist revolution in Russia.

# Exploring Russia's Constitution

***Objectives:***

*Students will:*

- Identify rights protected in the Russia Constitution and explore the values behind these rights.
- Compare and contrast the U.S. and Russian Constitutions.
- Articulate their views on individual rights and the purpose of government.
- Understand how the Russian Constitution affects the structure and power of government in Russia.

***Required Reading:***

Students should have read the excerpts from the Russian Constitution in the student text (pages 49-58). Students may also want to review the U.S. Constitution.

***In the Classroom:***

1. *Compare and Contrast*—Ask students to examine "Chapter 1. Fundamentals of the Constitutional System" in the student text (pages 49-50). How does the structure of the Russian political system compare with that of the U.S.? Does the introduction to Chapter 1 sound familiar? Why? Chapter 4, Article 93 outlines the impeachment process. How does it differ from the process in the U.S. Constitution? Chapter 4, article 81 lists the qualifications for president. What differences are there from the U.S. requirements?

2. *Identifying Rights*—Ask students to refer to "Chapter 2. Rights and Liberties of Man and Citizen" in the student text (pages 50-54). Ask students to identify rights guaranteed to Russian citizens that are also found in the U.S. Constitution. What are some of the rights guaranteed to Russian citizens that are not in the U.S. Constitution? Article 26 guarantees everyone the right to his native language. Do students think that would be an appropriate clause for the U.S. Constitution? Why is it a clause in the Russian Constitution? How do students react to article 38 and the responsibility that it places on adult children?

3. *Debating the Role of Government*—The Russian Constitution guarantees the right to a home, health care, a favorable environment, and education. Why do students suppose these rights were not included by the Founders of this country in the U.S. Constitution? Should any government guarantee these rights to its citizens? What are the pros and cons of such a guarantee?

4. *Identifying Values*—Ask students to identify the values that they see in the Russian Constitution. How does the U.S. Constitution reflect the core values of the United States? What values are shared? What values are not? Are there any implications in these similarities and differences?

***Extra Challenge***

In general, the Russian Constitution is much more specific than the U.S. Constitution. What are the advantages and the perils of being more detailed in such a document?

# Key Terms

## *Part I: Lessons from Russia's Past*

communism
communist
government planning
state-run economic system
party officials
ideology
class struggle
collective interests of the state
authoritarianism
provisional government
Western-style parliamentary democracy
individual rights
the state

serfs
feudalism
industrializing
peasants
nobles
representative assembly
civil rights
nationalize
autocracy
bureaucratic control
private ownership
command economy
ideological successor

purges
Cold War
economic reform
*perestroika*
foreign investment
free-market forces
price controls
*glasnost*
gross domestic product
foreign policy
nuclear arms control
the West
totalitarianism

## *Part II: Exploring the New Russia*

coup
multi-party democracy
centrally planned economy
foreign policy
political spectrum
international relations
political opposition
oligarchs
liberal democracy
nationalist
individualism
materialism
business empire
central government
guerrilla forces
human rights abuses

shock therapy
government subsidies
world market
imports
productivity
research and development
raw materials
ecological
retailing
manufacturing
entrepreneurs
black market
financial services
barter economy
monopoly
privatization

tax breaks
per capita income
Communist Party elite
inflation
developing economies
heavy industry
sphere of influence
economic union
barriers to trade
Islamic fundamentalism
NATO
Soviet satellite countries
alliance
nuclear arsenal
foreign debt
international community

# Charting Russia's Future
# Issues Toolbox

**Socialism:** Socialism is a political and economic system in which resources, property, and income are distributed subject to social control rather than individual or market forces.

**Marxism-Leninism:** A form of socialism that for much of the twentieth century was in competition with capitalism. In their book, the *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels outlined a form of scientific socialism in which the workers of the world would unite against capitalist exploitation. Lenin adapted and added to Marx's ideas. He believed that workers needed leadership in the form of the Communist Party and state to implement socialism.

**The state:** The institutions and organizations of government. Different political systems have assigned different roles to the state. In the Soviet Union, Lenin believed that the power of the state should be absolute and that it should have control over all aspects of its citizens' lives in order to achieve communism.

**Cold War:** The Cold War was the dominant foreign policy problem for the United States and Russia between the late 1940s and the late 1980s. Following the defeat of Hitler in 1945, Soviet-U.S. relations began to deteriorate. The United States adopted a policy of containing the spread of Soviet communism around the world, which led to, among other things, U.S. involvement in Viet Nam. During this period both Russia and the United States devoted vast resources to their military, but never engaged in direct military action against each other. Because both the Soviet Union and the United States had nuclear weapons and were in competition around the world, nearly every foreign policy decision was intricately examined for its potential impact on U.S.-Soviet relations. The end of the Cold War forced policy makers to struggle to define a new guiding purpose for their foreign policy.

**NATO:** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was founded in 1949 to ensure the defense of member nations against a perceived threat from the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. The alliance included the United States and Canada as well as countries in Europe. During the Cold War, NATO forces faced the forces of the Warsaw Pact (the Soviet Union and its allies) across the border of West and East Germany. With the end of the Cold War, the Warsaw Pact dissolved. NATO no longer had an adversary. The inclusion of former Warsaw Pact members in NATO has angered many in Russia, who see NATO as an organization whose sole purpose is to oppose Russian interests. Nonetheless, NATO and Russia have begun to meet regularly to discuss cooperation and military issues of mutual concern.

# Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size, and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms over the past six years. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Project in writing, or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

## *Designing Cooperative Learning Groups*

**Group Size:** The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

**Group Composition:** A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking, but the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In most cases, this style of instruction and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students.

Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

### Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

**Provide Clear Written Instructions:** As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

**Establish Ground Rules:** Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

*Everybody has a role (or a job)*
*Everybody participates*
*Nobody dominates*
*Nobody interrupts*

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom, facilitating learning and keeping students on task.

### Managing the Choices Simulation

**Recognize Time Limitations:** At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

**Highlight the Importance of Values:** During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options.

### Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

## Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

## Assessing Student Achievement

**Grading Group Assignments:** Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

**Requiring Self-Evaluation:** Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

**Evaluating Student Options:** The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

**Testing:** In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

**For Further Reading:** Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

# Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: ____________________

Group members: ____________________

____________________

| **Group Assessment** | *Excellent* | *Good* | *Average* | *Needs Improvement* | *Unsatisfactory* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. The group made good use of its preparation time | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| **Individual Assessment** | | | | | |
| 1. The student cooperated with other group members | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

## Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

**Day 1:** See Day One of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part I of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part I" before beginning the unit.)
*Homework:* Students should read Part II of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part II."

**Day 2:** Assign each student one of the three Futures, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the Futures. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned Futures. How do the Futures differ in their overall philosophies? Ask students to respond to a current issue, such as the rise in unemployment, the development of Russia's energy industry, or NATO expansion from the perspective of their assigned Futures. Moving beyond the Futures, ask students to imagine they are Russian voters. Which beliefs should guide Russia's economic policy and political development? Which international concerns should rank at the top of the Russian foreign policy agenda?
*Homework:* Students should complete "Focusing Your Thoughts."

**Day 3:** See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

# Notes

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project staff with the assistance of the research staff of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and several other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input:

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Olga Velikanova, *Visiting Fellow in International Studies,*
*Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University*

Special thanks also to the high school teachers who tested drafts of this material in their classrooms prior to publication: Don Bakker of North Eastham, Massachusetts; Candace Fisk of Springfield, Missouri; and David Weiss of Rockville Centre, New York.

To Michael Barton of Kingsboro, Massachusetts, Patricia Clancy of Vernon, New Jersey, and Ron Levitsky of Northfield, Illinois, we extend our appreciation for helping us to revise the format of Choices units to make them responsive to a wider variety of student learning styles.

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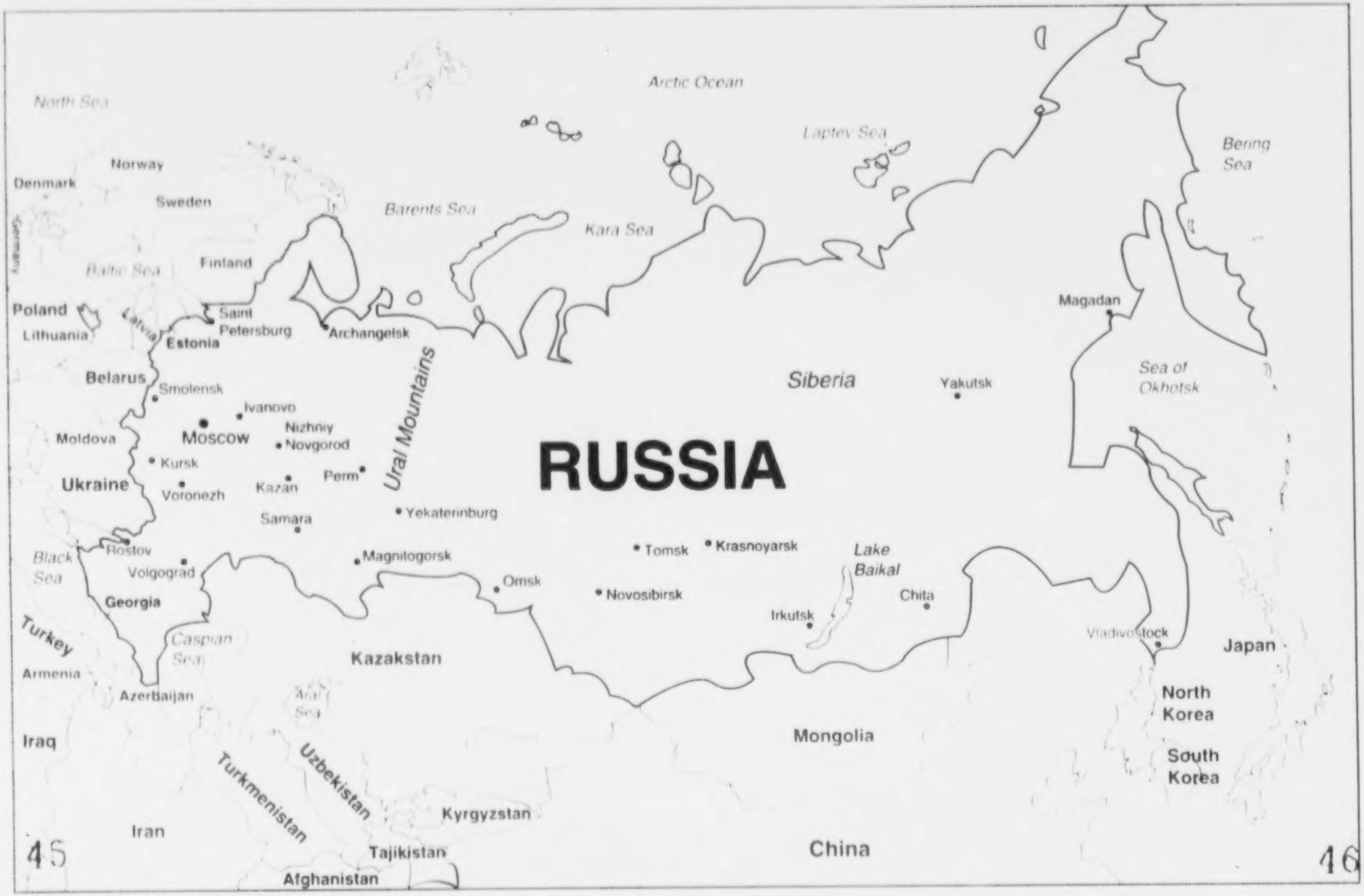
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# Part I: Lessons from Russia's Past

## RUSSIA IN TRANSITION

In the center of Moscow, the capital of Russia, the corpse of Vladimir I. Lenin occupies a prized location. Carefully embalmed, the remains of the founder of the Soviet Union are housed in an impressive mausoleum in Moscow's enormous Red Square.

Lenin was once a revered figure among nearly all Russians. Long after his death in 1924, he symbolized the promise of the communist system. Millions of Russians clung to his vision of a paradise on earth in which humanity's needs would be answered through wise government planning. Lenin's mausoleum was one of Moscow's main attractions, often flanked by long lines of Soviet citizens eager to catch a glimpse of the famed communist revolutionary.

By the time the Soviet Union collapsed at the end of 1991, however, little was left of the communist dream. Instead, Russia in recent years has opened its doors to extraordinary change. The structure of communist authority is gone. The state-run economic system dominated by party officials has disintegrated. The faith among the Russian people that communism offered a better future has crumbled. Even the fifteen republics that formed the Soviet Union — of which Russia was by far the largest — have each become independent states.

The scene at Lenin's mausoleum is very different as well. The crowds of the past are absent, and the honor guard of elite soldiers has been removed. The few visitors stopping by now are mostly elderly Russians or curious foreigners. Rather than serving as a source of inspiration, Lenin's corpse has become a small part of a larger debate about Russia's identity and direction.

For some Russians, Lenin and communism represent a national nightmare. They want to see Lenin buried once and for all. For others, Lenin is admired for laying the foundation of the mighty Soviet Union. They insist that his mausoleum deserves a continuing place of honor in Russian society. For still others, especially the young, Lenin is an odd remnant from a distant era.

The controversy surrounding Lenin is closely linked with the struggle for the soul of this vast and troubled nation. Just as Russians have not reached a consensus on how Lenin should be remembered, so too have they been unable to unite around a new course for their country. Even in his neglected tomb, Lenin's hold over Russia has yet to be broken.

### *How do Russians see themselves?*

For nearly three centuries, Russians have occupied a central role on the world stage. Their vast land, nearly twice the size of the United States, contains many of the world's most important natural resources. Russia has produced giants in the sciences, music, literature, and other fields. The Russian army, a formidable force as early as the 18th century, is comparable to the U.S. military in troop strength. Moreover, Russia's huge nuclear arsenal places an awesome responsibility in the hands of Russian leaders.

**Russia at a Glance**

| | |
|---|---|
| Area: | 6,592,800 square miles |
| Arable land: | 8% |
| Population: | 145 million |
| Life expectancy at birth: | 59 male, 72 female |
| Per capita gross national product : | $4,200 |
| Telephone lines per 1,000 people: | 183 |
| Motor vehicles per 1,000 people: | 74 |

Russians have long seen themselves as occupying a special place in the world. The tsars (a word that comes from the Roman title of caesar) who ruled Russia for nearly five centuries before communism were imbued with a sense of mission. Russian Orthodox Christianity and the expansion of the Russian empire over much of Eurasia gave Russians a feeling of uniqueness. In the early years of the empire, they often referred to their country as the "Third Rome," believing that the torch of spiritual leadership for the Christian world had been passed to Russia from Rome and Constantinople. This produced in Russia a sense of uniqueness, but also of isolation.

Geography has reinforced the Russian sense of isolation. Much of Russia is cold and inhospitable, far removed from the Atlantic Ocean currents that warm Western Europe. Moscow, for example, lies on the same latitude as Hudson Bay and is blanketed in snow for nearly six months of the year.

### *What role did Communism play in Soviet society?*

Communism rejected religious ideologies, but in many respects it took on the form of a religion. Under Soviet rule, Russians promoted the communist system as an alternative to the societies of the United States, Britain, France, and other countries of the West. Communism in Russia exalted Lenin and his ideology. In the Soviet Union, all events were to be interpreted events as part of the class struggle; the Communist party-state was the law; communism was destined to be spread throughout the world; and the collective interests of the state were to supercede the interests of the individual.

With the collapse of Lenin's communist system and the break-up of the Soviet Union, Russians have been forced to chart a new course for their country. Russian reformers had originally hoped that Russia would be able to make a quick, clean break with the past. Instead, attitudes from the Soviet, and even tsarist, era have stood in the way of change. Today's Russia is an uneasy mix of new and old, hope and despair.

### *What questions are Russians asking about their future?*

In this unit, you will be asked to step into Russian shoes and consider Russia's future. You will be confronted with the same questions that the people of Russia are now debating: What principles should guide the development of Russia's economy? What political system is best for Russia? What role should Russia play in international affairs?

To prepare for the challenge ahead, you will begin with a brief survey of Russian history, focusing in particular on past efforts to change Russian society. Russians place a high level of importance on understanding their own history. For them, Russian history is closely connected to both their individual identity and their image of Russia as a nation. Interpreting the past is a stepping-stone to thinking about the future.

The second part of the background reading deals with the events that have occurred since the Soviet Union came to an end on December 25, 1991. On that date Russia entered an era filled with economic hardships and political uncertainty. In this section, you will learn how Russia has changed in terms of its economic development, political thinking, and international relations.

## RUSSIA'S HISTORICAL LEGACY

The history of modern Russia can be divided into two main segments: the tsarist period that stretched from the 15th century to 1917 and the Soviet era that began in 1917 and continued until 1991. Sandwiched between these two epochs was a short, unsuccessful attempt to fashion a democracy in 1917 after the fall of Tsar Nicholas II and before Lenin seized power in the Bolshevik Revolution.

When Russians look backward today, they often disagree about what elements of the past should be preserved. Almost everyone agrees that the worst features of communism—the prison camps and the secret police, for example—should be buried once and for all. But at the same time many people long for the guaranteed employment, free health care, low-rent housing, and the law and order of the Soviet system.

Similarly, the tsarist period evokes differing opinions. For some, the values embodied by the tsar, the Russian Orthodox Church, and the empire are revered. For others, the tsarist period is a symbol of authoritarianism and backwardness.

Finally, the short-lived democratic regime of 1917 presents another set of questions. The provisional government led by Alexander Kerensky sought to transform Russia into a Western-style parliamentary democracy. However, Kerensky's failure to build political support for his reform program, as well as the difficulties caused by World War I, doomed the young democracy. Some Russians today wonder whether history is likely to repeat itself or whether a tradition of democracy can be established.

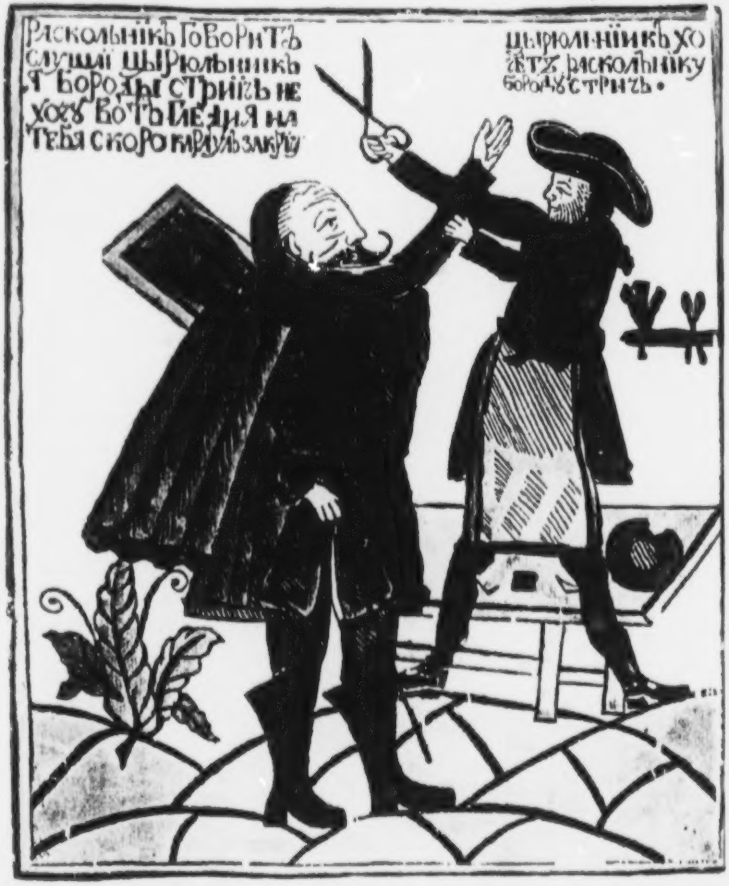
### *Why does Russia lack a tradition of democracy?*

Whatever their political convictions, Russians recognize that their country lacks a tradition of democracy. From tsarist times, Russia has been led by rulers who enjoyed virtually unlimited power. Individual rights, the freedom of expression, and other democratic principles had little meaning in tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviets destroyed the weakly-rooted concept of private property and elevated the power of the state to even greater heights.

### *Where has reform traditionally originated in Russia?*

Historically, reform in Russia came from the top. The force that drove previous attempts at change was the desire to strengthen the state, often in the face of an external foe. Tsarist and Soviet rulers also sought to fend off threats to their authority, as democratic values gained wide acceptance outside of Russia. The history of Russia — both its accomplishments and its failures — is now being studied intently by Russians weighing their country's future options.

Reprinted from *The Horizon History of Russia*


РАСКОЛЬНИКЪ ГОВОРИТЪ СЛУШАЙ ЦЫРЮЛЬНИКЪ Я БОРОДЫ СТРИЧЬ НЕ ХОЧУ ВОТЪ ГЛЕДИ Я НА ТЕБЯ СКОРО КАРАУЛЪ ЗАКРИЧУ
ЦЫРЮЛНИКЪ ХОЧЕТЪ РАСКОЛЬНИКУ БОРОДУ СТРИЧЬ

This 300-year-old woodcut shows Peter I cutting the beard of a nobleman.

## PETER THE GREAT

Tsar Peter I (1682-1725), known as Peter the Great, was the first important modernizer in Russian history. Peter I inherited a state that stretched from near the shores of the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. His vast domain, however, was largely cut off from the scientific and political revolutions underway in Europe at the time.

### *What reforms did Peter the Great attempt?*

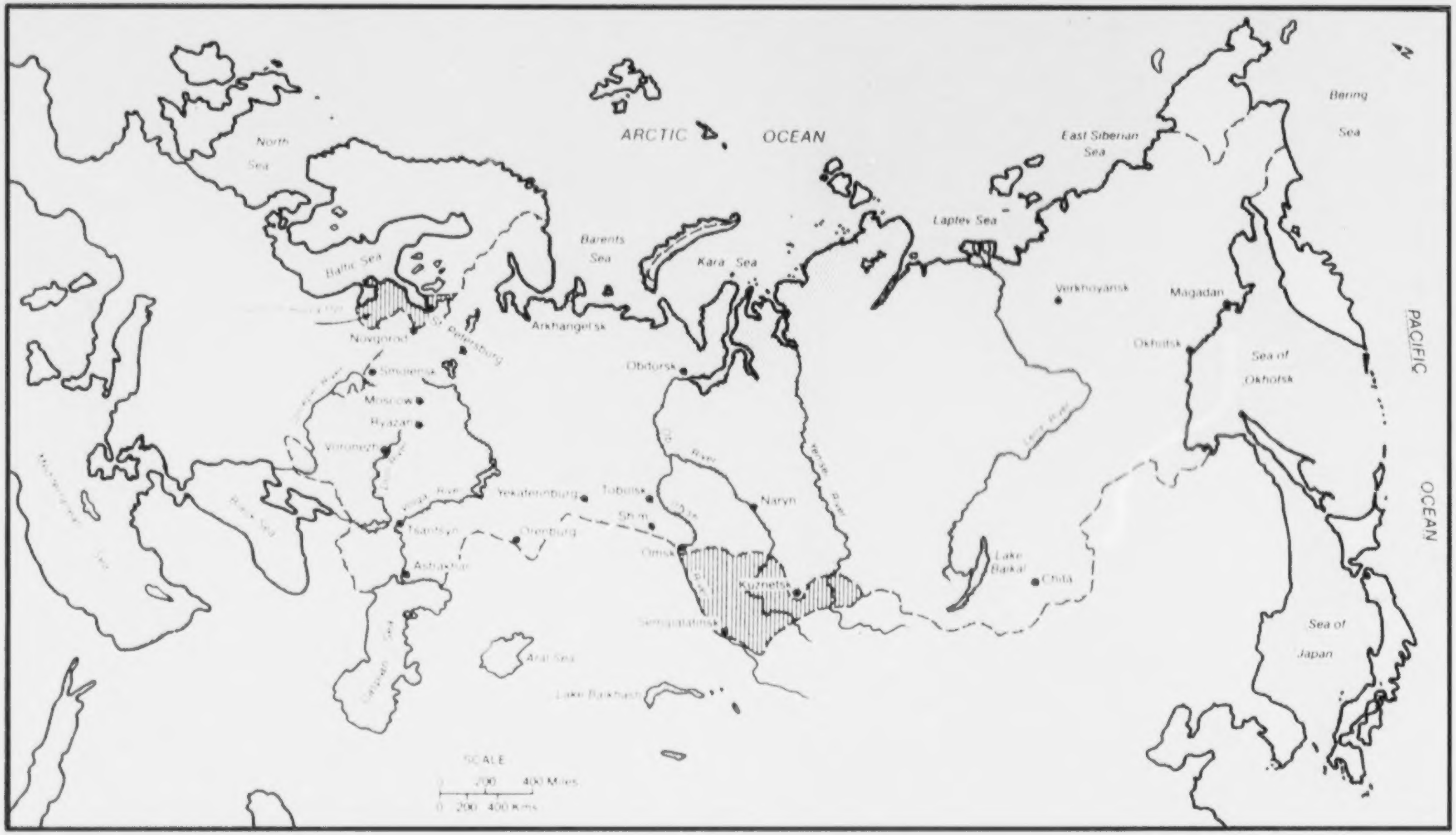
During a tour of Western Europe in 1697-98, Peter I was exposed to the technological advances of his distant neighbors. He returned to Russia and launched a sweeping effort to remake his country along European lines.

Peter I concentrated on the military, reorganizing the army and creating a navy. New industries were established to supply the needs of the military. After acquiring territory along the Baltic Sea in a war against Sweden, the tsar built a new capital at St. Petersburg — Russia's "window on the West." Peter I even taxed noblemen who refused to shave their beards and adopt a more European appearance.

Russians today recall Peter the Great as the tsar who thrust Russia into the center of European affairs. With a modern military, Russia was destined to rank among the leading European powers. The tsar's efforts to open his country to the West continue to have significance for Russia today.

Russians have long suffered from an inferiority complex with respect to the West. For much of its history, Russia has been on the margins of European

## RUSSIA'S EXPANSION UNDER PETER THE GREAT


North Sea
Baltic Sea
Barents Sea
ARCTIC OCEAN
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
East Siberian Sea
Bering Sea
PACIFIC OCEAN
Sea of Okhotsk
Sea of Japan
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Lake Balkhash
Lake Baikal
Novgorod
St. Petersburg
Arkhangelsk
Smolensk
Moscow
Ryazan
Voronezh
Don River
Volga River
Tsaritsyn
Astrakhan
Yekaterinburg
Orenburg
Tobolsk
Shim
Omsk
Obdorsk
Ob River
Narym
Yenisei River
Kuznetsk
Semipalatinsk
Lena River
Verkhoyansk
Magadan
Okhotsk
Chita
N
SCALE
0 200 400 Miles
0 200 400 Kms

⬚ **Russia before 1689**

▥ **Territory gained from 1689 to 1725**

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civilization. When the Renaissance was dawning in Western Europe in the 15th century, Russians were still struggling to reclaim their land from Mongol invaders. While the foundations of modern Western science were being laid in the 17th century, Russia was gripped by political chaos and close-minded religious zeal.

> *Having ensured the security of the state against the enemy, it is requisite to endeavor to win glory for it by means of the arts and sciences.*
>
> *—Peter the Great*

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russia's current borders do not extend beyond those that prevailed during the early reign of Peter the Great, and once again are far removed from Western Europe.

Peter the Great is admired by Russians who value their country's great role in the international arena. In the name of modernization, however, Peter I substantially increased the power of the state and ruthlessly crushed his enemies.

## TSAR ALEXANDER II

Tsar Alexander II (1855-81) is best known for his decision to free Russia's serfs in 1861. He also took the first steps toward establishing the rule of law in the Russian empire.

Alexander II came to power at a time when economic pressure and social unrest were growing. Many of his advisers believed that Russia was rapidly falling behind the industrializing countries of the West. The inept performance of Russia's army against British and French forces during the Crimean War of 1853-56 served to illustrate their concerns.

### Why did Alexander II free the serfs?

The tsar's advisers convinced Alexander II that the system of serfdom was a root cause of Russia's backwardness. Like feudalism in Europe, Russian serfdom had deep roots. Beginning in the 16th and 17th centuries, Russian peasants were obligated to work the estates of landowning nobles. But whereas the underpinnings of feudalism broke down in much of Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, serfdom in Russia became more entrenched. By the 1800s, Russian serfs were virtual slaves. They could be bought and sold, moved from one estate to another, and were barred from owning land. Many Russian landowners, however, were increasingly unable to afford to care for the serfs under their control. Moreover, Russian army officers complained that serfs made poor soldiers.

Alexander II's order to free the serfs did little to immediately improve the lives of Russian peasants. The emancipated serfs were subject to new taxes, and in most cases remained tied to the land for a lengthy period. Freeing the serfs, however, ultimately created a new class of small farmers and opened the door to other important reforms by Alexander II.

> *It is better to abolish serfdom from above than to await the time when it will begin to abolish itself from below.*
>
> *—Alexander II*

### What other reforms did Alexander II introduce?

Under Alexander II, elected assemblies were permitted at the local level to address issues such as road maintenance, irrigation, and taxation. Although by Western standards the power of the local councils was meager, for Russia the councils represented a significant departure from the absolute authority of the tsar. In addition, Alexander II introduced jury trials and decreed that all citizens should receive equal treatment before the law.

The Tsar Liberator, as Alexander II came to be known, was willing to relinquish some of his authority to help modernize Russia. At the same time, he was working to undercut the appeal of new political philosophies that were emerging in Russia during the 1800s.

### What two intellectual movements emerged in Russia?

In the decades before Alexander II's reign, two important intellectual movements emerged in Russia.

On one side were the Slavophiles — a group that identified closely with Russia's ethnic Slavic roots. The Slavophiles believed that their country should be built on the traditional values of the Russian village and the Russian Orthodox Church. They called on Russia to turn its back on new programs for political and economic reform circulating in Europe.

The other group, the Westernizers, wanted Russia to join the tide of change sweeping Europe. They viewed Russian tradition as a barrier to progress. During the later years of Alexander II's rule, many Westernizers favored the creation of a liberal democracy along the lines of the systems that existed in Britain and the United States.

Meanwhile, political currents in Europe inspired more radical movements for change in Russia. Russian socialists, for instance, sought to overthrow the authority of the tsar and the church. Many of them looked to Russia's downtrodden peasants to ignite revolution and redistribute the land. When few peasants responded to the call for revolution, radical movements often turned to violence to challenge the government. In 1881, a revolutionary terrorist killed Alexander II (and himself) with a homemade hand grenade. In response to his father's assassination, Alexander III began his reign by launching a harsh crackdown against political activity in Russia.

Admirers of Alexander II portray him as the first Russian ruler to try to put his country on the path toward democracy. The severe repression that followed his reforms, however, has led many to question Russia's capacity, both then and now, for peaceful change.

## TSAR NICHOLAS II

Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917) was a reluctant reformer. Like his father, Alexander III, Nicholas II relied heavily on the secret police and heavy-handed tactics to maintain order. Two events, however, forced the tsar to accept the need for change.

### *What events forced Nicholas II to make reforms?*

In 1904, the Russian navy suffered a humiliating defeat against Japan in a battle over dominance in the Sea of Japan. While the Russo-Japanese War continued on land in 1905, political unrest broke out in Russia. The Revolution of 1905, as the turmoil came to be known, did not subside until Nicholas II announced major political reforms.

To satisfy his democratic critics, Nicholas II reluctantly created a representative assembly, or Duma, and pledged that basic civil rights would be protected. In measures that went well beyond those of Alexander II, the tsar conceded that he would share power with elected officials. Elections in 1906, however, produced a legislature that supported rapid democratic reform. The tsar responded by dissolving the first Duma, then the second, and finally changing the electoral laws. The third Duma, elected in 1907, was more conservative, and Nicholas II adopted some of the legislature's moderate recommendations for reform.

### *Why is the period of 1905 to 1914 of interest to Russians today?*

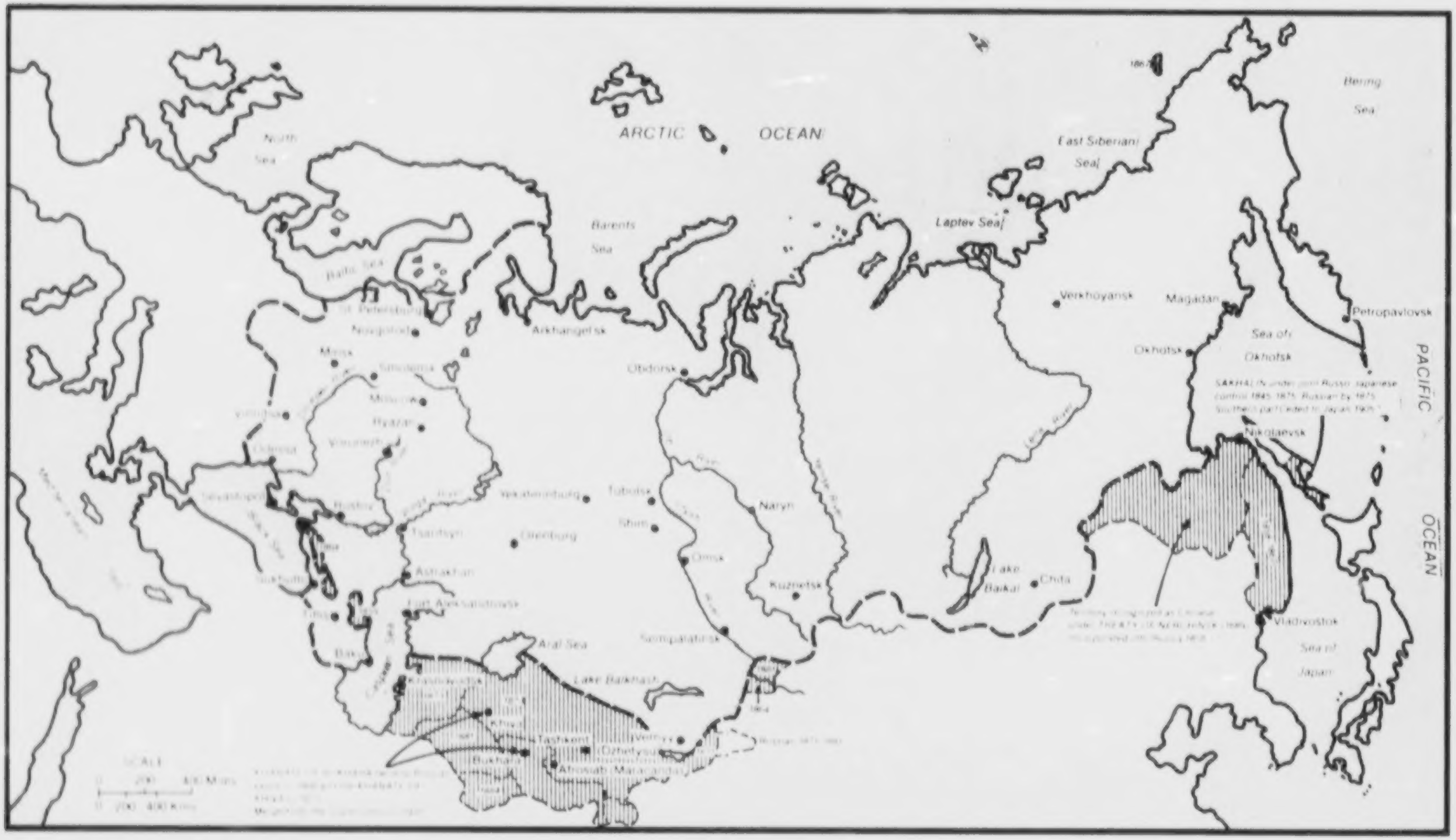
The period from 1905 to 1914 (the year Russia entered World War I) has particular relevance for Russians today. Among those Russians who find hope for democratic progress in Russia's past, the 1905-14 period represents an era of prom-

Percentage of World Manufacturing Output

| | 1750 | 1800 | 1860 | 1900 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Russia** | 5.0 | 5.6 | 7.0 | 8.8 |
| **Britain** | 1.9 | 4.3 | 19.9 | 18.5 |
| **France** | 4.0 | 4.2 | 7.9 | 6.8 |
| **Germany** | 2.9 | 3.5 | 4.9 | 13.2 |
| **U.S.** | 0.1 | 0.8 | 7.2 | 23.6 |

Data from *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*

## RUSSIA'S EXPANSION FROM 1885 TO 1904


ARCTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Barents Sea
Laptev Sea
East Siberian Sea
Bering Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
PACIFIC OCEAN
Sea of Japan
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Lake Balkhash
Lake Baikal
St. Petersburg
Novgorod
Arkhangelsk
Minsk
Smolensk
Moscow
Ryazan
Voronezh
Vilnius
Odessa
Sevastopol
Rostov
Tsaritsyn
Astrakhan
Sukhumi
Tiflis
Baku
Fort Aleksandrovsk
Krasnovodsk
Khiva
Bukhara
Tashkent
Afrosiab (Maracanda)
Dzhetysu
Verny
Yekaterinburg
Orenburg
Tobolsk
Ishim
Omsk
Semipalatinsk
Obdorsk
Naryn
Kuznetsk
Chita
Verkhoyansk
Magadan
Okhotsk
Petropavlovsk
Nikolaevsk
Vladivostok
SAKHALIN under joint Russo-Japanese control 1855-1875. Russian by 1875. Southern part ceded to Japan 1905
1867
1864
SCALE
0 200 400 Miles
0 200 400 Kms

☐ **Russia before 1855**

▨ **Territory gained from 1855 to 1904**

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ise. They note that Russia at the time was experiencing the most rapid industrial growth in Europe and that democratic institutions such as a free press and political parties were gaining acceptance.

> *We must avoid taking too great strides. We should find ourselves, later, close to being a democratic republic. That would be senseless and criminal.*
>
> *—Nicholas II*

In fact, many of Nicholas II's advisers believed that Russia was in a race against time in the years before World War I. In the area of defense and foreign policy, the Russo-Japanese War had rekindled fears about Russia's vulnerability. Geography was Russia's main security problem. To the west, a broad plain offered invaders an unobstructed route into the Russian heartland. In addition, Russia's access to the sea was limited. Russia's navy in the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea could easily be bottled up by an enemy, while Russian ports in the Arctic Ocean were frozen for much of the year. Nicholas II hoped that stepped-up industrialization and efforts to modernize the military would reduce Russia's vulnerability to attack.

The tsar's government was also racing to prevent a political and social explosion. The Duma, for example, had been founded largely to win over the tsar's democratic critics and undercut the appeal of revolutionaries. Perhaps more important were the agricultural reforms undertaken by the tsar's prime minister, Peter Stolypin.

### *Why is Stolypin important to reformers today?*

Stolypin's goal was to create a class of prosperous, conservative small farmers, much like the families that worked the land in France and the United States. To achieve his aim, Stolypin sought to break up the village communes in which peasants held land collectively. Stolypin blamed the collectivist mentality for stifling individual initiative. Stolypin also allowed peasants to buy state-owned land and established a special bank to loan them money for equipment, seeds, and other farming needs. Stolypin was assassinated in 1911 while attending an opera with the tsar. The assassin was later discovered to be a double agent working for the government and the radicals.

For Russians today, Stolypin's assassination symbolizes the contradictions of the 1905-14 period. On the one hand, advocates of cautious, gradual reform take heart in the robust economic growth and the fledgling democratic institutions that marked the era. On the other hand, those who reject the principles of capitalism see the 1905-14 period as merely another failed attempt to import the values of the West.

## VLADIMIR LENIN

Vladimir Lenin (1917-1923), the founder of the Soviet Union, came to power in the turmoil of 1917. The Russian army was in tatters, defeated by the Germans in the First World War. Using his political skill Lenin and his Bolshevik party of 30,000 members seized control of the greatly weakened Russian government.

### *How did Lenin change Russian society?*

Lenin moved to nationalize all industry and agriculture. The state became the sole employer. In addition, at Lenin's direction, all of the resources of the country were placed at the disposal of the state.

For seventy years the Soviet Union followed the course laid out by Lenin and utilized the state to develop mighty industrial, military, and scientific capabilities. The Soviet Union became a military superpower feared by the world. It was the first nation to put a man in space. At the same time, the power of the state was nearly absolute.

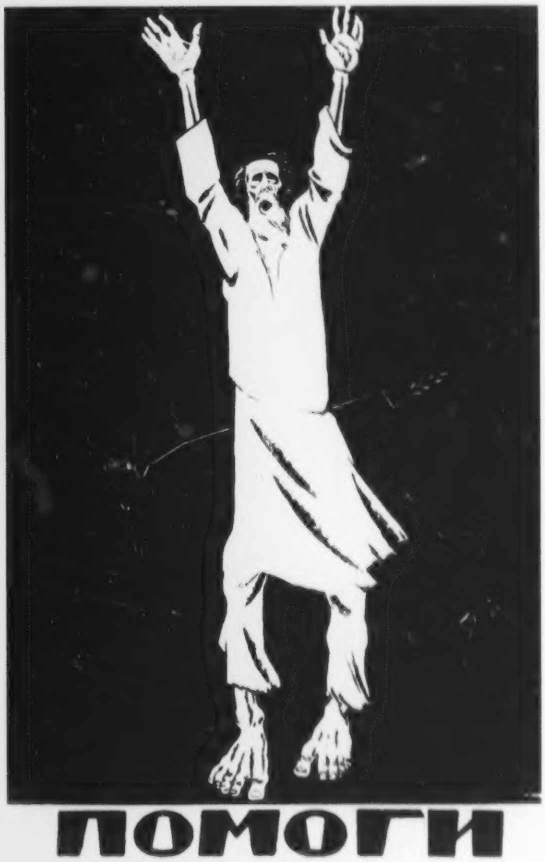
### *How did Lenin consolidate his power?*

Lenin had to fight a civil war to consolidate the power that he had seized in 1917. There were various political factions within Russia and a foreign-led invasion that included English, U.S., and Japanese troops. Thirteen million died; two million Russians emigrated to other countries. During this conflict, Lenin used terror and brutality as an instrument of the state to accomplish his goals. Drawing from the tsarist traditions of the absolute power of Russian rulers, Lenin did not hesitate to order the deportation or murder of opponents.

> *The dictatorship [of the proletariat]—and take this into account once and for all—means unrestricted power based on force, not on law.*
>
> *—Vladimir Lenin*

During the civil war, Lenin adopted a policy known as War Communism. It involved the nationalization and close bureaucratic control of the economy. It was a policy that would have disastrous consequences. In 1921, a combination of drought and the weakened economy led to widespread famine that resulted in the deaths of as many as five million from starvation and disease. Lenin was forced to acknowledge that War Communism did not work. He adopted the New Economic Policy (NEP), which eased restrictions on private ownership, and marked a tactical, temporary retreat from a communist economy.

Reproduced from *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution*



"Help!" A 1921 poster depicting the famine.

## JOSEF STALIN

While Lenin was the architect of the Soviet system, Josef Stalin (1924-53) was the chief builder. He believed that the Soviet Union had to industrialize at all costs in order to defend communism against the capitalist countries of the West. To achieve his goals, Stalin ended Lenin's NEP and implemented a "command economy." Under his rule, government planners in Moscow sought to control all aspects of economic activity and to direct the distribution of goods for the whole country.

In many ways Stalin was the embodiment of a non-religious mythology and faith embraced by the Russian people. Stalin was both feared and loved. The Russian people believed what they were told and endured tremendous hardships in the name of an idealized yet unclear communist future. To strengthen his own position, Stalin carefully established himself as the ideological successor to Lenin.

> *The banner of Lenin, the banner of the Party was raised high and carried further by Stalin, Lenin's outstanding pupil, the best son of the Bolshevik Party, the worthy successor and great continuer of Lenin's cause.*
>
> *—Josef Stalin*

Stalin succeeded in making the Soviet Union into an industrial giant. By the time of his death, the Soviet economy was second in size only to that of the United States.

### *What was the cost of Soviet industrialization?*

Soviet industrialization was accomplished at a staggering human cost. Stalin ordered the murder or deportation of those he believed opposed him. These orders led to what were called "purges" in which 10 million Soviet citizens may have died. Perhaps a third of these were shot or perished as they were sent into exile in Siberia. The remaining two-thirds died of famine, cold, or abuse. Peasants suffered the most. Stalin's policies forced them to give up their land and join huge state-run farms. In addition, peasant traditions were smashed and the Russian Orthodox Church was deprived of its authority.

Nonetheless, Soviet industrial might helped the U.S.S.R. defeat Nazi Germany in World War II. The struggle, known there as the Great Patriotic War, left roughly 27 million Soviets dead. The Soviet Union had signed a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany in 1939, only to be left totally unprepared for German aggression in June 1941. The Soviet Army suffered tremendous losses at first, but ultimately perservered. As neither Hitler nor Stalin permitted their soldiers to surrender, the battles were fought with particular ferocity and barbarism. The Soviet Army is credited with having destroyed the bulk of Hitler's forces at great cost to themselves. The enormous wartime sacrifices were hailed by Stalin, his successors, and most Russians as a tribute to the Soviet system and the solidarity of the Russian people.

Stalin's successors, Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev (1953-1964) and Leonid Brezhnev (1964-1982) ended Stalin's reign of terror. However, they did little to alter the command economy— an economy which was increasingly unable to meet the needs of the Soviet people. The Brezhnev era developed into a period of economic stagnation characterized by chronic shortages of food and basic consumer goods.

Reproduced from *Autopsy for an Empire*

**Stalin poses in front of a picture of Lenin.**

## Mikhail Gorbachev

Between 1914 and the time Mikhail Gorbachev (1985-1991) came to power, Russia had experienced World War I, a civil war, the imposition of communism, World War II, and years of economic stagnation. Decades of shortages and communist repression had left the Russian people weary and cynical. Whatever hopes had been placed in the Bolshevik Revolution had long since diminished.

### *Why did Mikhail Gorbachev believe he had to reform the economy?*

Like many other Soviet officials of his generation, Gorbachev acknowledged that his country's economy was stalled, especially in the high-tech areas that were essential to the strength of the Soviet military. If the Soviet Union was to keep up with its Cold War rival, the United States, and maintain its superpower status, serious economic reform would have to take place.

> *[We] must build a bridge from Leninism, connect Leninist ideas and the Leninist approach... to the affairs of our own present day. If the Leninist ideals of socialism become the property of the people, then we will attain our goals.*
>
> *—Mikhail Gorbachev*

But while Gorbachev favored shaking up the economy, he did not want to topple the communist system that had been built by Soviet leaders over many decades. He believed his country could prosper by returning to the principles of Lenin—at that time still idealized by Gorbachev and many of his countrymen.

### *What was perestroika?*

Under Gorbachev's program of *perestroika* (restructuring), Moscow loosened its control of the Soviet economy. Gorbachev held that enterprises should be responsible for holding down costs and responding to consumer demand, rather than relying on government subsidies. Factory managers and farm directors were given greater decision-making power. Small-scale private and cooperative businesses were legalized. The Soviet Union also became more open to foreign investment. Gorbachev hoped that the introduction of Western technology and free-market forces would spur the Soviet economy forward.

*Perestroika*, however, was a halfway measure. Gorbachev feared that lifting price controls and taking other measures to create a free-market economy would undermine the authority of the Communist Party and turn people against the Soviet system. He also balked at recognizing the institution of private property.

### What was glasnost?

In addition to tackling economic reform, Gorbachev liberalized the Soviet political system. His policy of *glasnost* (openness) allowed greater freedom of expression. Public attention was soon drawn to the Soviet Union's many problems: government corruption, environmental pollution, economic inefficiency, etc. *Glasnost* also gave the Soviet Union's many nationalities an opportunity to air their grievances, and reopened discussion about the horrors committed by the Stalin regime.

As historians began to publish materials that suggested the horrors of Stalinism were an outgrowth Lenin's policies, Gorbachev's emphasis on a return to Leninism ideas came back to haunt him. Both the philosophical foundation of his reforms and the Soviet state itself were undermined by forces and events that Gorbachev had set in motion, but could not control.

In the Soviet Union, Russians had been taught to think of Lenin the way that Americans are taught to regard George Washington. Until the early 1990s, Lenin was held up as the shining example for Russian youth, a visionary, a man of integrity, the father of a great country. While the methods of his successor, Josef Stalin, had been criticized publicly in the Soviet Union, Lenin's had not. For Russians, the discovery that the excesses of Stalinism were an continuation of Leninism undermined their image of their nation's past and their hopes for their nation's future.

### How did perestroika and glasnost undermine the Soviet state?

Together, *perestroika* and *glasnost* ate away at the legitimacy of the Soviet state. Instead of sparking initiative, *perestroika* contributed to a breakdown of the framework that held together the Soviet command economy. By 1990, the economy was in a tailspin. The country's gross domestic product (GDP) fell 8 percent that year. The next year, it dropped 19 percent. Meanwhile, the problems and injustices exposed under *glasnost* undercut the authority of the Communist Party. In each of the Soviet Union's fifteen republics, movements arose to reduce the power of the central government in Moscow.

Gorbachev's foreign policy deepened the divisions among the people of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev set out to settle the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States that had begun in the late 1940s. He initiated agreements on nuclear arms control with the United States and encouraged foreign investment in his country. In 1989, Gorbachev did not intervene when popular movements in Eastern Europe toppled communist governments that had been dominated by Moscow since the end of World War II. In 1990, Gorbachev reluctantly gave his assent to the reunification of West Germany and East Germany.

### How was Gorbachev's foreign policy received in Russia?

While the international changes brought by Gorbachev's policies were hailed abroad, Gorbachev received mixed reviews in the Soviet Union. Many Soviets, especially the younger generation, supported his efforts to open up the country to the West. In everything from science and computers to music and fashion, they looked forward to learning more about the interests and tastes of their counterparts in Paris, Tokyo, and Los Angeles.

Others, particularly those who remembered World War II, believed that Gorbachev had surrendered their country's national honor to the West. The loss of Moscow's satellites in Eastern Europe was seen by many as a heavy blow to Soviet security. Moreover, the overthrow of communist regimes in Eastern Europe inspired nationalities in the Soviet Union seeking to break free of Moscow. By the end of 1991, Gorbachev had few allies and was unable to hold the Soviet Union together.

Undeniably, much of the blame for Gorbachev's downfall rests with short-sighted and poorly developed policies. But many Russians believe that the mentality of their people posed a bigger obstacle to Gorbachev's success. Early in his leadership, Gorbachev himself emphasized that the Soviet people needed to break free of their dependence on the government.

> *It is necessary to expunge from the people's minds a belief in the "good tsar," in the all-powerful center, in the assumption that someone at the top will impose order and organize change.*
>
> *—Mikhail Gorbachev*

According to Gorbachev, Russians, and later Soviets, had been conditioned to look toward the "good tsar" to solve their problems. As a result, many had given up on their own creativity and initiative.

As in earlier eras, Russia's past weighed heavily on Gorbachev's reforms. Gorbachev was taking aim at the remnants of totalitarianism left over from the days of Stalin. Under the totalitarian system, the state sought to control every aspect of life, from organizing youth groups to determining the content of movies and novels. The roots of Soviet totalitarianism, however, reach deep into Russian history. Many of the worst features of communism — the secret police, restrictions on travel both inside and outside the country, the government-imposed isolation from foreign influences — had their origins under the tsars. Whether the past will define Russia's course in the future is a question that is likely to haunt Russians well into the post-Soviet era.

# Part II: Exploring the New Russia

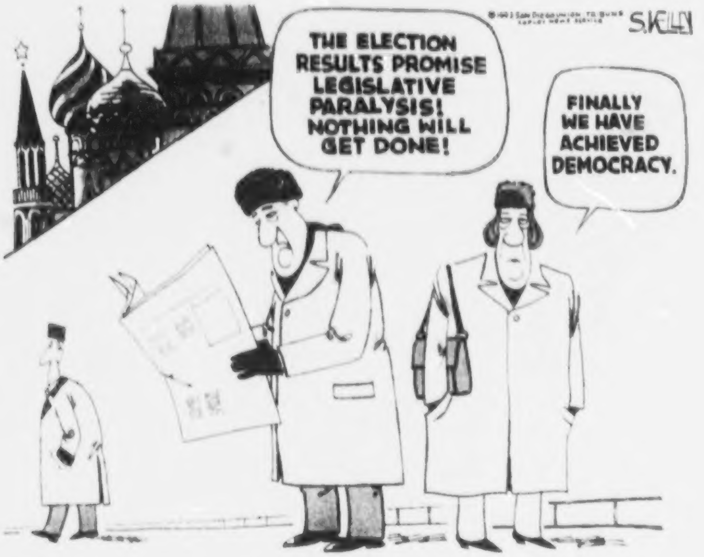
## RUSSIA'S IDENTITY CRISIS

A new era in Russian history began on August 19, 1991, when the Russian President Boris Yeltsin climbed on top of an armored personnel carrier in front of the Russian parliament to oppose a coup organized by hard-line communists against Mikhail Gorbachev.

Yeltsin called on Russians to launch a general strike and appealed to the military to turn against the coup plotters. Within three days of Yeltsin's appearance, the coup attempt collapsed.

The Soviet Union officially ceased to exist at the end of 1991. Since then, the Communist Party's monopoly on power has given way to the beginnings of a multi-party democracy. Economically, Russia has moved away from the centrally planned economy. In the international arena, a new foreign policy has been crafted to address the loss of Russia's empire and superpower status.

The new era has shown signs of promise. In contrast to past generations, Russians today are free to voice their opinions and travel abroad. Russia has held presidential and parliamentary elections that were judged to be relatively fair.


THE ELECTION RESULTS PROMISE LEGISLATIVE PARALYSIS! NOTHING WILL GET DONE!
FINALLY WE HAVE ACHIEVED DEMOCRACY.
S.KELLEY

Steve Kelley. Reprinted by permission of Copley News Service. All Rights Reserved.

On the other hand, since the summer of 1991, successive waves of political and economic tumult have washed away the memory of Yeltsin's courageous stand in the Russian capital. During the Yeltsin administration (1991-1999), corruption funneled enormous wealth into the hands of a few, economic reform hurt more people than it helped, and political divisions repeatedly paralyzed the government. Finally, Russia's fall from its position as an international superpower and inability to successfully conduct a war in Chechnya produced a widespread sense of humiliation and resentment. In the midst of these difficulties Yeltsin appeared to most Russian citizens to be disabled by medical problems. Not surprisingly, Russian citizens came to regard most politicians as corrupt or incompetent.

### *Why were some Russians pleased with the resignation of President Boris Yeltsin?*

The resignation of President Yeltsin on December 31, 1999 and the appointment of his Prime Minister, Vladimir Putin, as acting President created an atmosphere of hope among many Russians. Putin used the time between his appointment and the Presidential elections in March 2000 to project an image as a strong, competent leader by vowing to stamp out corruption and to defeat the rebel forces in Chechnya.

Putin won the election handily, winning nearly 54 percent of the vote. His nearest opponent, Gennady Zyuganov of the Communist party won only 29 percent of the vote.

The issues on Russia's national agenda have set off a wide-ranging debate among the Russian people about where their country should be heading. While Americans have faced important decisions in recent decades, not since the Civil War has the United States been torn by fundamental questions about our national identity.

Russians have probed deep into their country's history to gain a better insight into their future choices. In the following pages, you will learn about the new Russia. Three critical areas will be examined: the emergence of a new political spectrum; the impact of economic change on Russian society; and Russia's international relations.

## DEMOCRACY RUSSIAN STYLE

For more than seven decades, the Soviet Union was dominated by the Communist Party. Political opposition was not tolerated. In the final years of Mikhail Gorbachev's rule, however, the Communist Party's hold over society began to crumble. The failure of the August 1991 coup marked the end of the road for the one-party system.

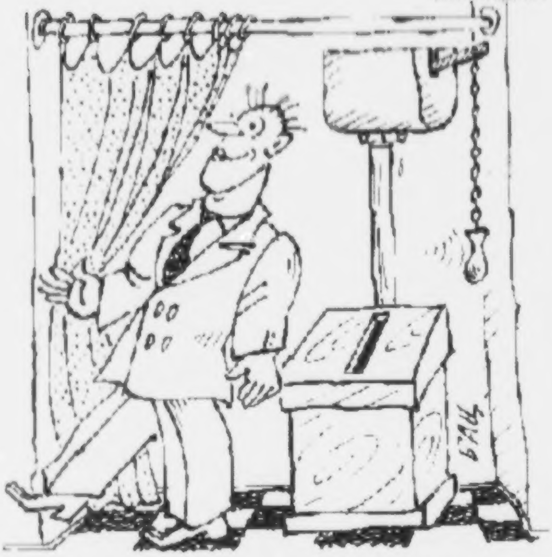
### *What kind of political system has evolved in Russia?*

The new Russian state began its life without a stable political system. Unlike the United States and other mature democracies, Russia lacks a tradition in which two or three well-established political parties compromise and share power. Rather, political competition in the new Russia has often revolved around clashes among Russia's wealthiest men—often referred to as the oligarchs. Disputes have been bitter, even violent, with political rivals often taking a winner-take-all approach.

The 1996 presidential campaign — the first since the collapse of the Soviet Union — illustrated the influence of the oligarchs. Russia's seven leading oligarchs, fearing the election of the communist Gennady Zyuganov, spent millions to re-elect Yeltsin. They also used the two major television networks under their control to polish Yeltsin's image. Yeltsin defeated his communist rival 54 to 40 percent. In the months before the vote, Yeltsin spent billions of rubles to increase pensions to the elderly, give tax breaks to industry, and pay back wages to workers who had gone for months without their salaries.

Nonetheless, the two presidential and parliamentary elections have established political standards for Russia. Election observers agree that there has been little fraud in counting the ballots, and the results have been accepted without violence. A healthy turnout at the polls for the 1999 parliamentary race and for the 2000 presidential race suggests that Russian voters value their democratic right to elect their leaders.

Boris Tsvigankov



This cartoon depicts cynicism about the new political system.

### *What are the political divisions in Russian politics?*

Elections have also defined the dividing lines in Russian politics. The Russians elected a new parliament in 1999 which reflects the full range of political viewpoints in Russia.

**Liberal democrats:** At one end of the spectrum are advocates of liberal democracy. They hope that Russia's political and economic system will come to resemble that of the West. The reformers crafted many of Yeltsin's free-market economic policies and have been widely blamed for their country's problems. Nonetheless, they believe that time is on their side. They expect their appeal to increase as a new generation learns to value the principles of economic opportunity and individual freedom. Grigory Yavlinsky has been the most prominent democratic reformer. But in the 2000 presidential elections, he finished third with only 6 percent of the vote.

**Communists and nationalists:** The liberal democrats have met fierce opposition from the communists and nationalists. The communists and nationalists are united by a conviction that Russia is unique. They often speak of their country's *sobornost* (meaning "spiritual unity") to distinguish Russian culture from what they see as the excessive individualism and materialism of the West.

The communists and nationalists believe that the break-up of the Soviet Union has brought Russia humiliation and disgrace. They contend that the reformers sold out Russia to the West. They are especially angered by the decline in the country's industrial might, arguing that reform made Russia dependent on handouts from the West. The communists and nationalists have tapped into the popular backlash against economic change, especially among the elderly, factory workers, and other groups that have suffered under reform.

The platform of the nationalists and the communists concentrates on restoring Russia's power and prestige. They would sharply increase military spending and grant the central government greater authority to manage the country's resources. To achieve their goals, they favor reasserting Russian influence in the former Soviet Union (FSU) by rebuilding the economic and military ties that were severed after the Soviet collapse.

> *Russia is a special world...a special type of civilization...hostile in its soul to the West.*
>
> *—Gennady Zyuganov, communist leader*

The communists constitute an important part of Russia's Duma, or lower house of parliament. In the 1999 parliamentary elections, the communists were the most successful party, gaining one-quarter of the seats in the legislature. President Putin has made early efforts to work with the communists, who often blocked efforts of the Yeltsin government. Putin gave the communists some important committees and the important speaker's chair in exchange for their support of his policies.

**Pragmatic moderates:** The middle ground in Russian politics has been occupied by pragmatic moderates. Many have been elected as mayors and provincial governors in recent years. The pragmatists pay little attention to political parties and ideologies. Rather, they are preoccupied with solving everyday problems and consolidating their own power. Practical concerns also shape their attitude toward foreign relations.

### *What influence do the oligarchs have on Russian politics?*

Just as important as the political parties at the forefront of Russian politics are the interest groups and oligarchs behind the scenes. For them, politics is less about issues and ideas than about control of Russia's key industrial, financial, and military institutions. Russia's most powerful oligarchs have put together wide-ranging business empires, largely through government connections. Their assets typically include energy and mining facilities, factories, banks, and perhaps a newspaper or television station. Each maintains close ties with top politicians and organized crime.

### *Why does Vladimir Putin want to reduce the power of regional leaders?*

Today, under President Putin, another far-reaching struggle for power is taking place in the new Russia. After the break-up of the Soviet Union, leaders of Russia's eighty-nine regions increasingly challenged the supremacy of the central government.

Under Boris Yeltsin, regional leaders had reason to believe they could act independently. For the first time in Russian history, they owed their offices to democratic elections rather than to appointments from Moscow. Some of the regional leaders became corrupt or autocratic—or both. Many have been quick to strike deals with foreign companies without much regard for the foreign policy implications or the laws made in Moscow. As many as 40 percent of all regional laws enacted by these regional leaders violate federal legislation or the Russian Constitution.

> *There must be a single way of understanding legislation throughout the federation. This is not just correct today; it is absolutely necessary. The looseness of power is very costly for millions of average people.*
>
> *—Vladimir Putin, Russian President*

Moreover, the budget problems of the central government pitted the regional leaders against the capital in a scramble for funding. In recent years, Moscow often failed to provide the regions with the money required to pay pensions and the salaries of essential workers. In other cases, governors have misappropriated funds from Moscow intended for wages. Most of the regions have responded by holding back on the amount of tax revenue they deliver to the Russian capital. A few areas, such as the energy-rich Tyumen region in western Siberia, feel that they are better off keeping their distance from Moscow. Others, especially in the frigid Far North, are angry at what they see as the central government's indifference to their deepening poverty.

### *How does Putin hope to control the power of regional leaders?*

President Putin has plans to authorize full federal funding for courts allowing them to act independently of regional control. He also has appointed administrative leaders in seven regions of the country who report directly to him.

Putin has threatened to remove the 89 governors and their legislative leaders from their seats in the Federation Council—Russia's counterpart to the United States Senate. Putin is also seeking the legal authority to fire any governor who flouts federal law.

### *How have ethnic differences contributed to regional problems?*

For more than 20 million Muslims within Russia, regional politics has an ethnic dimension. After the Soviet collapse, Yeltsin sought to win over non-Russian regions by transferring authority to the local level. In 1994, he signed an agreement with Tatarstan, a predominantly Muslim republic in central Russia. Yeltsin gave Tatar leaders broad decision-making power over local affairs and allowed them to keep a large share of the tax revenue on oil production in the republic.

In sharp contrast, in the southern border region of Chechnya, Yeltsin responded with force after failing to come to terms with the republic's leaders. The results were both tragic and disastrous. Russia's huge army was outmaneuvered by Chechen guerrilla forces in fighting that began in December 1994. Roughly 60,000 people died before a peace settlement was reached in the summer of 1996.

### *How did violence in Chechnya help Putin's campaign for President?*

In the fall of 1999, fighting flared up again between Russian troops and Chechens. Two incidents provoked a strong response from Moscow. Islamic rebels from Chechnya invaded the region of Dagestan. Yeltsin appointed Putin as Prime Minister the following day. In addition, a series of bomb explosions in Moscow apartment buildings that killed several hundred Russians were blamed on the Chechens. This solidified Russian public opinion behind a vigorous prosecution of the war. Vladimir Putin increased his popularity by leading a more aggressive and apparently successful campaign against the Chechens. To many Russians, his competent, strong leadership against a hated foe made him the candidate of choice in the presidential elections of 2000.

Russia's use of massive military force in Chechnya has resulted in the widespread displacement and deaths of civilians. Allegations of human rights abuses by Russian troops have also brought Putin's government under criticism from the West. The Russian government claims that foreigners are fighting along side the Chechens and that Russia has little choice but to respond forcefully.

> *The situation in the [Chechen] republic has become complicated to such a level that the territory has become a springboard for the expansion of international terrorism into Russia.*
>
> *—Vladimir Putin*

## COPING WITH ECONOMIC CHANGE

At the eye of Russia's political storm has been the country's economic crisis. Since 1989, when the old Soviet economy began turning sharply downward, Russia's economic output has shrunk by over half (twice as deep a drop as America suffered during the depression of the 1930s). Private ownership has largely replaced state control as the foundation of the economy. A handful of Russians have amassed fortunes in the transition, while the great majority have seen their living standards plunge.

Much of the old Soviet economic system was torn down in the months following the failed coup of August 1991. The initiative at the time belonged to a group of bold economic reformers who formed the inner circle of Yeltsin's government. With the help of advisers from the United States and other Western countries, they drafted a program known as "shock therapy" to lay the groundwork for a free-market economy in Russia.

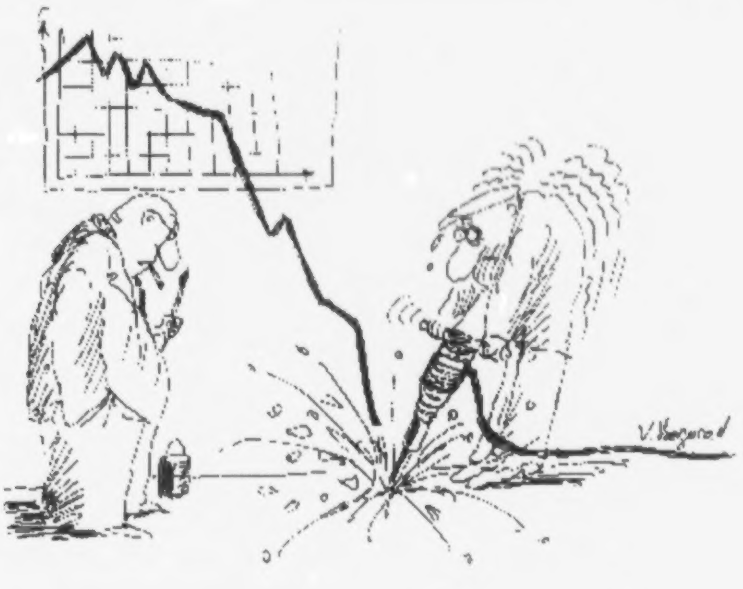
### What were the components of shock therapy?

The most important changes began in January 1992. Price controls were lifted on 90 percent of the goods sold in Russia. Government spending was slashed and plans were drawn up to place state-run companies in the hands of private owners. The "Boys in Reeboks," as the team of economic advisers was called, realized that many of the inefficient, state-run factories that had been kept alive during the Soviet era would have to close or drastically trim their work forces. They predicted, however, that free-market competition would give rise to new companies and generate new jobs.

Yeltsin's popularity at first overwhelmed many of shock therapy's opponents. By the summer of 1992, the factory managers, farm directors, and other defenders of the old Soviet economic system were ready to fight back. The main point of contention was the budget. The reformers favored cutting government subsidies to state-run industries. Their opponents countered that the reform plan would result in economic chaos.

### How did disagreements over economic policy lead to civil unrest?

The political tug-of-war muddied the economic picture. Critics of shock therapy succeeded in maintaining the flow of government subsidies to big industries. Consequently, unemployment rose only slightly. Government presses, however, were working overtime to print money so that state-run factories and farms could pay their workers. At the same time, government officials imposed heavy taxes to hold down the budget deficit. In 1992, prices for consumer goods increased 25 times. Production fell by 19 percent, while the buying power of workers dropped by more than 40 percent. In 1993, prices increased another nine times and production dropped by 12 percent.



Viktor Bogorad in the St. Petersburg Press

By September 1993, the confrontation over economic policy led Yeltsin to dissolve parliament. Street violence between anti-Yeltsin forces and troops loyal to the president erupted in Moscow in early October. The clash left the top floors of the Russian parliament in flames and killed at least 140 people. Although Yeltsin defeated his political foes, his country's economic performance failed to generate support for the free market.

### What were the initial results of economic reform?

The shock waves from Russia's initial leap toward economic reform gradually subsided after 1993, but without bringing about the changes that economic reformers had anticipated. Few of the new businesses they had expected to see sprout actually materialized. Only a small trickle of investment entered the economy, not the ample stream that had been forecast.

Meanwhile, the central government proved unable to put its fiscal house in order. At the insistence of the Duma, subsidies continued to flow. Tax evasion was widespread, depriving the government of badly needed revenue. Basic government services, such as education, health care, and road maintenance, were starved of funding. By 1997, the government owed back wages and state benefits to more than 65 million Russians.

Russia's budget problems eventually rippled through the entire economy. Companies that did not receive payment from the government typically refused to pay other companies with which they did business. In turn, workers who went without their paychecks were unable to meet their bills for housing, electricity, heating, and other services.

To make matters worse, a drop in energy prices in the mid-1990s reduced government revenue from exports of oil and gas. Moscow was compelled to increase its borrowing from foreign lenders. In August 1998, confidence in the Russian ruble collapsed. Within a few days, the value of Russia's currency compared to the dollar dropped more than threefold.

### How did Yeltsin respond to Russia's economic crisis in August 1998?

The fall of the ruble triggered a new economic crisis in Russia. Yeltsin was forced to appoint a new prime minister, Yevgeny Primakov, who was more acceptable to the communists and nationalists of the Duma. Primakov's approval rating actually increased when he announced that he had no plan to rescue the economy. The Russian people had come to doubt the competence of government and politicians so much that they preferred inaction to any new policy.

Primakov was to last as prime minister for nine months. Yeltsin, battling accusations of corruption, incompetence, and rising dissatisfaction with worsening economic conditions would change Prime Ministers three times in a year, before settling on Vladimir Putin in August of 1999.

### How has a new Russian economy replaced the Soviet economy?

The challenges now facing President Putin are considerable. After years of reform, all but a few vital sectors of Russia's economy, such as defense, nuclear energy, and transportation, have been placed under private ownership. Russia's integration into the world marketplace doomed many of the country's manufacturing industries.

Virtually gone are the industries that once produced household electronics, textiles, and other consumer goods for the closed Soviet market. In most cases, Russian factories have been unable to compete with the flood of foreign imports. They have also lacked the funding to improve quality and upgrade productivity. Spending on research and development in Russia has fallen fifteen times from the level of the Soviet era. The decline in funding for basic science has been even steeper.

Most of Russia's new private owners have invested little in new equipment and technology. Rather, they have viewed their acquisitions as sources of quick cash, often stripping them of parts and scrap metal for sale abroad.

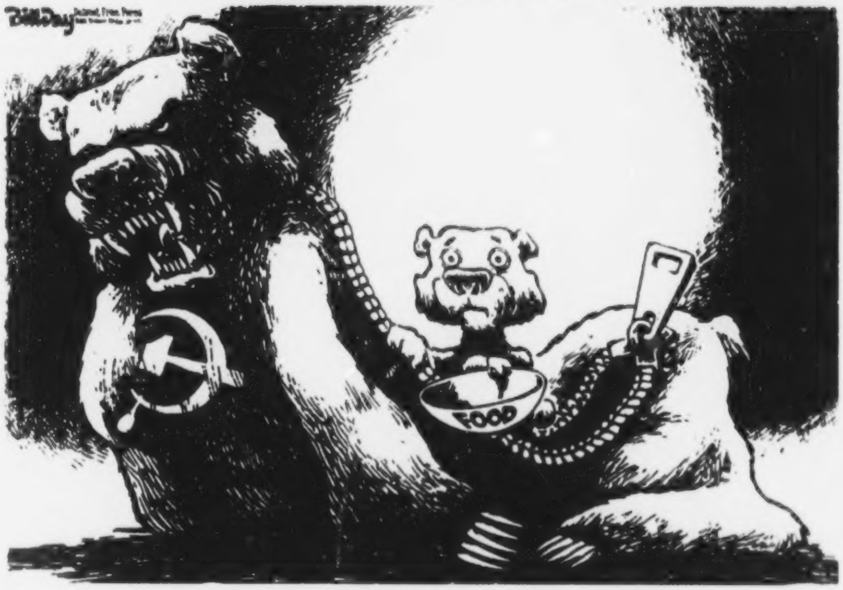
### How does the old Soviet system still affect the current economy?

The Soviet past has been an especially heavy burden for Russia's big industrial firms. The closed nature of the Soviet economy discouraged technological innovation, leaving many Russian factories with outdated and inefficient equipment. Moreover, Soviet industry was particularly wasteful of raw materials and energy. For example, the Soviet Union used 80 percent more steel than the United States, even though its economy was less than half the size of the U.S. economy.

The Soviet system led to nightmarish pollution as well. In many areas, industrial wastes were dumped untreated into rivers and lakes. Sixty-one million Russians already live in environmentally dangerous conditions. In 120 Russian cities, air pollution levels are five times higher than acceptable, according to Russia's own standards. One million tons of oil—the equivalent of 25 Exxon Valdez spills—leak out of pipelines and into Russia's soil and water every month. The Russian news agency Tass reports that 30 percent of Chechnya is an ecological disaster zone, thanks in part to the 26 oil wells that have been on fire nonstop for months. At least for the moment, cleaning up the environment has been overshadowed by the demands of the marketplace.

The failings of the Soviet system have lived on in the countryside as well. More than 95 percent of the country's agricultural land remains under the control of huge, inefficient state-run farms. Poor management and lack of investment have forced Russia to import one-third of its food. Recent grain harvests have fallen short of government predictions by nearly 20 percent, even though demand for grain is down due to reduction in the livestock population. The Russian government has been compelled to accept millions of tons of donated wheat from the United States to feed its people.

Bill Day in the Detroit Free Press. Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services.



### Have foreign investors helped Russia enter the global marketplace?

Reformers had hoped that foreign investors would help usher Russia into the global marketplace. Instead, most have invested in retailing rather than manufacturing. Pepsi, Bacardi, Milky Way, McDonald's, Calvin Klein, Polaroid and other popular brand names have won a niche in the Russian market while contributing little to Russia's economic development. Compared to the former communist economies of Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic, Russia has lagged behind in attracting foreign investors. Many have often been scared off by corruption, the uncertainty of Russia's legal system and tax code, and an inadequate banking system. Foreign investment in Russia equalled roughly $2.9 billion in 1999 — less than 2 percent of the total going to the world's developing countries.

### How has government regulation hindered economic development?

Russia's government has also stymied local initiative. Russian tax laws and bureaucratic red tape often drive small entrepreneurs out of business or into the black market. Requirements for licenses, permits, and other documents prompt frustration and bribery.

The government's failure to manage its finances and regulate Russia's new banking system has stunted the development of crucial financial services. Few Russians use credit cards or maintain checking accounts. Even cash has been in short supply. As a result, most Russian businesses and many individuals have returned to the barter economy of past centuries. A dairy farm, for example, might pay outside electricians in milk rather than in cash for repairing its machinery.

As manufacturing has declined, Russia has become increasingly dependent on the output of raw materials. In 1999, almost half of Russia's exports consisted of oil and gas. Exports of Russian machinery and equipment represented 5 percent of Russia's sales abroad. Hopes for Russia's economic recovery are thus based largely on raw materials. With one-third of the world's natural gas and about one-quarter of global reserves for coal, diamonds, gold, aluminum, and nickel, Russia's natural resources are unmatched.

Over the long term, however, economists predict that Russia's energy and mining industries will need foreign investment to improve efficiency. In the 1980s, Soviet oil output ranked first in the world. Since 1987, however, oil production has fallen by half—below the levels of Saudi Arabia and the United States. Sharp increases in the price of oil and natural gas in 2000 may help spur investment and improve the economy.

### *What has been the outcome of privatization?*

The big winners in Russia's economic transformation are those who took advantage of privatization to gain a stake in profitable companies. The process gave government and industry officials from the Soviet era an inside track. In many cases, they were allowed to buy valuable state assets at rock-bottom prices.

The largest fortunes were made in the energy sector. Buying into Gazprom, for example, was a sure bet for investors. The company, which holds a monopoly over Russia's natural gas industry, is estimated to be worth from $200 to $700 billion and produces eight percent of Russia's economic output. It was acquired by investors for only $8 billion. Gazprom benefits from a cozy relationship with the government, which owns 37.5 percent of the company stock. In exchange for offering cut-rate supplies of gas in Russia, the company has been exempted from paying taxes.

The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few that accompanied the privatization of Gazprom occurred on a smaller scale throughout the Russian economy. Like Gazprom, many of the state firms sold to private investors inherited monopoly privileges from the Soviet era. Their owners have often used their money and influence to stifle competition, claim questionable tax breaks, and gain access to special import and export licenses.

Before the fall of the ruble in 1998, Boris Berezovsky, one of Russia's wealthiest oligarchs, bragged that he and six others controlled half of their country's economy. Worse yet for Russia's long-term prospects, they continue to funnel billions of dollars into bank accounts overseas rather than investing at home.

President Vladimir Putin gained popularity during his presidential campaign by promising to crack down on the corruption and power of the oligarchs. Early in his presidency one of them, Vladimir Gusinsky, was arrested and charged with illegally obtaining property in the privatization process. Gusinsky owns a television station that has been critical of the government's campaign in Chechnya. Putin's critics claimed that this was an attempt to stifle the freedom of the press.

### *How has the new economic system changed the principles of Russian society?*

The dismantling of the Soviet economic system has turned Russian society on its head. Throughout much of Russian history, and especially during the Soviet era, economic equality was a core principle of Russian society. Suspicion and envy were often directed at those who climbed above their neighbors financially. Since the fall of communism, equality has taken a back seat to economic opportunity. The gap between the rich and the poor in Russia is now among the world's widest. The shift has left most Russians resentful and apprehensive. Many of them have slipped into poverty. At the same time, they have witnessed the rise of a new class of wealthy entrepreneurs.

Moscow is the unrivalled center of the Russian economy. Two-thirds of the foreign investment coming into Russia in recent years has been concentrated in Moscow. The city's per capita income is over three times higher than the Russian average. To prevent the capital from being overwhelmed by out-of-towners, Mayor Yuri Luzhkov has managed to maintain Soviet-era rules that require Muscovites to obtain residency permits.

At the pinnacle of Moscow society, the city's newly rich have carved out a life of luxury and exclusivity for themselves. Moscow, as well as other big Russian cities, is dotted with private social clubs. For annual dues of several thousands of dollars, members enjoy casino gambling, gourmet dining, cabaret performances, striptease shows, and even cockroach races. The wealth and authority of successful businessmen and top government bureaucrats have allowed them to claim the special vacation resorts and first-rate hospitals that were once reserved for high-ranking Soviet officials.

### What role does organized crime play in Russia?

The old social order has been demolished too. Violent crime has soared in recent years. Criminal gangs have made extortion and drug trafficking commonplace, contributing to a murder rate over twice as high as that of the United States. In many Russian cities, shopkeepers, small factory owners, and other businessmen are forced to pay protection money to the Russian Mafia. Members of Russia's business elite are constantly ringed by bodyguards and travel in bullet-proof cars.

Mafia bosses have come to dominate entire sectors of the economy, such as foreign trade, diamond and gold mining, and entertainment. Bribes to corrupt government officials have allowed organized crime to evade regulations and taxes. The Mafia has even sought to gain access to nuclear materials and sell them on the international black market.

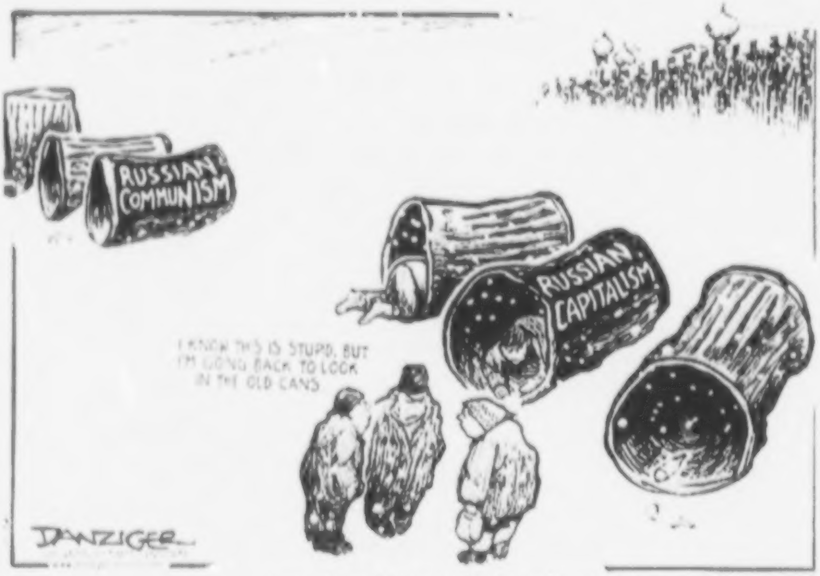
### How has new economy changed the daily financial concerns of Russians?

These sudden changes have shocked Russians accustomed to the economic security and law and order of the Soviet system. Few people other than the Communist Party elite in the Soviet era would have been considered rich by American standards, but neither was there much desperate poverty. Soviet officials kept down costs for housing, bread, utilities, public transportation, and other basic necessities through government subsidies. Apartment rent, for example, typically amounted to less than 5 percent of a family's income. Guaranteed employment was the foundation of the communist system. Workers understood that their jobs were protected regardless of economic conditions or changes in technology. Moreover, housing, health care, special deliveries of food, and other benefits were all tied to employment.

> *Ordinary Russians do not understand what it [capitalism] means. What they see are the rich seizing power.*
>
> *—Tatyana Tolstaya, Russian writer*

Increasingly, the pressures of the marketplace, reductions in government spending, and new bankruptcy laws have forced employers to lay off workers. By 2000, unemployment had risen to 12.6 percent. Much more common are ailing enterprises that have not raised salaries in line with inflation. Others have withheld wages for months at a time. Most struggling workers lack the skills and initiative to make a living in the new economy. Meanwhile, they are finding that they can expect only meager help from the government.

In human terms, the losers in Russia's transformation far outnumber the winners. According to the Russian government, one-third of the country's population gets by on less than $32 a month. Women, elderly pensioners, and farm workers have been especially hard hit. Rising rates of malnutrition, disease, and alcoholism have the country heading for a serious health crisis.


RUSSIAN COMMUNISM
RUSSIAN CAPITALISM
I KNOW THIS IS STUPID, BUT I'M GOING BACK TO LOOK IN THE OLD CANS
DANZIGER

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### *Why has life expectancy decreased in Russia?*

Mortality rates for working-age Russians are now higher than they were a century ago. Life expectancy for Russian men has steadily fallen since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The average Russian boy born in 2000 is expected to live only fifty-nine years (as compared to seventy-two years in the United States). Health experts blame high rates of smoking and alcoholism, but they also report a growing failure to vaccinate children against preventable diseases and an increase in birth defects that may be linked to the environmental abuses of the Soviet era.

Not only has life expectancy declined, the birth rates have dropped as well. Russians, not sure of a secure future, are simply not having children. In the first four months of 2000, deaths outnumbered births by a factor of nearly two-to-one. If this trend continues, and experts think that it is not easily reversible, Russia's population will shrink by one third to 100 million by 2025.

### *Is there hope for the Russian economy?*

In the long run, Russia enjoys economic advantages that may eventually pay off. The country has a well-educated work force and a large market for local businesses. The framework of Russia's financial and legal system, while shaky by Western standards, nonetheless puts Russia ahead of China and other developing economies.

A small middle class is beginning to regain a foothold in Russian society, mainly in Moscow and other large cities. The privatization of state-run firms, for example, has created a new breed of specialists in investment, insurance, and other financial services. Entrepreneurs capable of adjusting to the tastes of well-off Russian consumers have also been among the success stories. Although most Russians can afford little more than basic necessities, there is nonetheless a substantial demand for stylish clothing, expensive cars, and other luxuries.

In addition, Russia's high-tech industries in weapons, metals, space research, and nuclear technology are competitive in the world market. The economic chaos of 1998 did not prevent Russia from putting the first component of the international space station into orbit. There are even bright spots within Russia's heavy industrial sector. The directors of Uralmash, for example, have cut their work force nearly in half and have formed a joint venture with two American companies. Uralmash products now include a new model of oil rig that better meets the conditions of Russia's oil fields.

## RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The new Russia occupies a unique position in world affairs. Its nuclear weapons and huge military reflect the ambitions of a superpower. The worldview of its policymakers has been shaped by centuries of Russian expansion in which Russia's position in the world was the focus of government. Yet, the economic woes of today's Russia have deprived Moscow of the means to pursue an assertive foreign policy.

### *Why did Russia initially overlook its ties with other states of the Former Soviet Union?*

In the wake of the Soviet collapse, Russia initially sought to build new bridges to the West. The emphasis on close relations with the West led the Yeltsin administration to overlook its ties with the other states of the former Soviet Union. Russia's foreign minister did not make his first tour of the other FSU countries until April 1992.

While Russia neglected its former Soviet neighbors, the full impact of the Soviet Union's disintegration hit home. Under the Soviet system, the republics had been linked economically not only to Moscow, but to each other. Without a framework to sort out economic relations, many of the ties that had held together the Soviet economy unraveled. Russian factory directors were suddenly cut off from vital supplies of parts and raw materials. Trade among Russia and the other FSU states plummeted, contributing in large part to the region's economic crisis.

With respect to defense, Russia lost possession of radar stations, air bases, and other key military installations located elsewhere in the FSU. These facilities had been deliberately built on the periphery of the Soviet Union to protect the heartland of the country from attack.

Meanwhile, Russia's borders with its former Soviet neighbors were poorly defended and geographically vulnerable. Russian officials feared that without control over the old Soviet borders their country would be easy prey for drug traffickers, terrorists, and others seeking to exploit Russia's weakness.

By the end of 1992, more traditional Russian foreign policy interests and concerns had again moved to the top of Moscow's agenda. In the process, Russian leaders gradually tilted away from the West and instead shifted their focus to the other states of the FSU. A new term — "near abroad" — emerged to describe Russia's perspective on their former Soviet neighbors. Of particular concern are the many ethnic Russians who live in these neighboring lands.

### *How has Russia's influence over other former Soviet Republics changed?*

Russia hoped to use the many policy levers at its disposal to carve out a sphere of influence in the near abroad. Most of the other former Soviet republics were dependent on Russia for energy, or at least for energy pipelines. Military, transportation, and communication links also created a common bond.

Russia, however, could not hide its fundamental weaknesses, especially from its neighbors. Economically, Russia has had little to offer in the way of investment and innovative technology. Like Russia itself, the rest of the FSU has been compelled to turn to the United States, Western Europe, and East Asia to fund economic development.

### *Why are Russia's relationships with Ukraine and Kazakhstan important?*

In general Russian policy in the FSU has taken on a moderate tone. Special emphasis has been placed on relations with Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Other than Russia itself, Ukraine and Kazakhstan are the largest former Soviet states. Both countries are rich in raw materials and contain substantial Russian communities within their borders.

**Ukraine:** The relationship between Russia and Ukraine has been especially complex. In many respects, Ukraine is the birthplace of Russian culture. Kiev, Ukraine's capital, was the center of the Russian state when Russia's leaders accepted Christianity in 988. Russia and Ukraine have been closely linked politically and economically since the 18th century, when the Russian empire established control over much of what is today Ukraine. Under the Soviets, Ukraine served as the country's breadbasket and developed a large industrial base. Even today, 22 percent of Ukraine's 50 million people are ethnically Russian.

After the break-up of the Soviet Union, the Crimean peninsula quickly became a focal point of tension between Russia and Ukraine. The Crimea, which juts into the Black Sea, was officially transferred from Russia to Ukraine in 1954. Russians currently form roughly 70 percent of the population. Russian nationalists in the Crimea maintained that the region is historically Russian.

On the southern tip of the peninsula, the future of a Soviet-era naval base at Sevastopol provoked another dispute. Both Russia and Ukraine claimed the naval base and the 300 warships that made up the Soviet Union's Black Sea fleet.

Following several years of negotiation, Russia has ironed out its main differences with Ukraine. Yeltsin backed away from supporting the separatist campaign of Russian nationalists in the Crimea. He and Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma also signed an agreement in 1997 granting Russia four-fifths of the Black Sea fleet and a twenty-year lease for the naval base at Sevastopol. Meanwhile, trade has continued to draw Russia and Ukraine closer together economically. By 2000, Russian-Ukrainian trade was worth $18 billion, ranking Ukraine ahead of Germany and the United States as Russia's leading trading partner.

Russia's compromise with Ukraine signalled a retreat for Moscow. In Yeltsin's first years, Russia had aimed to bring Ukraine securely under its wing, especially in the area of foreign and economic policy. Ukraine, however, has succeeded in balancing Russia's influence in the region by developing new ties with the West. For instance, NATO has been hold regular exercises in Ukraine, a trend seen as worrisome by Russian officials.

**Kazakhstan:** Similarly, Russia has given ground in its relations with Kazakhstan. As in Ukraine, Kazak attitudes toward Russia are colored by a complicated history. The Kazaks, like the other Muslim peoples of Central Asia, were conquered by Russia in the 1800s. Modern Almaty, Kazakhstan's largest city, was founded as a Russian garrison in 1854. Under Soviet rule, Russians came to dominate Kazakhstan's major cities, key industries, and the area around the Soviet Union's most important space complex at Baykonur. Northern Kazakhstan was almost entirely Russian.

Since gaining independence, Kazakhstan has joined Russia in promoting military cooperation among the former Soviet republics. Kazakhstan's long-term goals, however, do not match those of Russia. Kazak leaders have sought to distance themselves economically from Russia. They have eagerly embraced Western partners, such as American oil companies, to develop their considerable energy resources. They have also taken steps to block Russian investment in their newly privatized firms.

Within their government, Kazak leaders have moved swiftly to replace Russian officials with their own people. Kazak has replaced Russian as the official language. The policies have sparked protest within Kazakhstan's Russian community, which makes up 35 percent of the population.

### *How successful have Russia's efforts been to assert its economic interests elsewhere in the FSU?*

Elsewhere in the FSU, the efforts of Russia to assert its economic interests have likewise met limited success. In the energy-rich Caspian Sea Basin, Russia is locked in competition with the United States, Western Europe, and Turkey. The West has lent its support to the efforts of Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan to break out of Russia's orbit. Western companies have pumped billions of dollars of investment into the three former Soviet republics' energy industries. At the same time, Russia has sought to maintain a stake in the Caspian Basin's development.

The scramble for the riches of the Caspian Basin has heightened concerns among Russians that they are being outflanked by the West in their traditional backyard. In the wake of the Soviet collapse, they had hoped to bind their former Soviet neighbors in a closely knit military and economic confederation. The Commonwealth of Independent States, formed under Moscow's guidance in 1991, was meant to serve as a tool for Russia's strategy. The organization, however, has evolved into little more than a discussion forum.

Instead, Moscow has stressed strengthening its links to a handful of allies. Russia has close ties with Belarus. The two countries agreed to a union in 1997, although the details and timetable remain unclear. Belarus' hefty debts to Russian energy suppliers, plus the country's lack of economic reform, may undermine the merger. Belarus and Russia are already members of an economic union that includes Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Under the pact, the four countries have pledged to remove barriers to trade among themselves. Again, however, differences in economic policies and regulations have stymied the union's development.

### *How has the Russian military changed since the end of the Soviet empire?*

Russia's decline has been nowhere more evident than in the troubles of the Russian military. A force that once held together a huge empire is today in tatters. Defense spending (once comparable to U.S. levels during the Cold War) has fallen roughly ten times to less than $20 billion annually. One-third of Russia's troops are malnourished. Only one in five is issued an overcoat. In many Russian cities, soldiers openly sell their weapons for extra cash. Even the Russian navy was compelled to sell two aircraft carriers to South Korea as scrap metal in 1996.

Russia's military crisis became clear during the Chechen rebellion in 1994. Before the fighting began, Russia's defense minister boasted that the uprising would be quashed in two hours. Instead, the first weeks of the war showed that the Russian army was poorly organized and unprepared.

In 1997, Yeltsin conceded the need for drastic reform. He ordered that troop strength be cut from 1.7 million men to 1.2 million over three years. He also announced plans to create a more mobile, highly professional army. Critics, however, were quick to note that Yeltsin's reforms could not be achieved without substantial increases in defense spending. President Putin has begun efforts to restructure the forces that maintain Russia's nuclear arsenal.

The downsizing of the military will force Russian leaders to rethink their foreign policy priorities. Since the Soviet collapse, Russian troops have continued to guard the borders in much of the FSU. In Tajikistan, for example, more than 16,000 Russian soldiers have been in place to protect the government there from rebels based in neighboring Afghanistan. Russian officials fear that turmoil in former Soviet states to the south will expose their own country to a flood of refugees and fuel the spread of radical Islamic fundamentalism among Muslims in Russia.

## RUSSIA ON THE WORLD STAGE

Without the superpower status of the Soviet Union, Russian officials have struggled to chart a new course in the international arena. In the months following the Soviet collapse, policymakers on both sides of the old Cold War divide spoke optimistically of constructing a partnership between the former enemies. Russia cooperated with the West in imposing sanctions on Iraq, a former Soviet ally, after the Persian Gulf War. In 1993, Russian and American leaders struck the most sweeping nuclear arms control agreement ever, pledging to reduce the number of long-range nuclear weapons in their arsenals by over two-thirds.

Since 1993, however, Russia and the West have disagreed on numerous issues. The United States, in particular, is seen in Moscow as an international rival.

### *How did Russia react to NATO expansion?*

The loudest Russian complaints have been prompted by the decision to admit three former Soviet satellite countries in Central Europe — Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic — into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Although Western officials have given Moscow a voice in NATO, the alliance's expansion confirmed for most Russians that their country is still perceived as an enemy in Washington. A stronger anti-American backlash is likely to result if additional countries (particularly, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia) are admitted to NATO.

Perhaps most significant, any chill in U.S.-Russian relations could endanger progress in reducing nuclear weapons. Under President Putin, the Russian Duma approved an important delayed nuclear arms control agreement signed in 1993. However, prospects for further breakthroughs will have to overcome significant obstacles. Russian officials view their nuclear arsenal as one of Russia's few remaining sources of international prestige and power.

Russian policymakers have sought to drive a wedge between Western Europe and the United States, particularly over the issue of a U.S.-proposed missile defense system. They have also shown a readiness to do business with America's foes and rivals. In Iran, for example, Russian companies are building nuclear power plants and developing Iran's natural gas reserves.

### *How did NATO action in Kosovo affect U.S.-Russian relations?*

Relations between the United States and Russia hit a low point following NATO military action in Kosovo against Serbia in the spring of 1999. The war-torn Balkan region has been a point of contention between Russia and the United States since the mid-1990s. Russia historically has been a protector of the region's Serbs who share the Orthodox Christian faith of Russia. In contrast, the United States has held Serb leaders in Yugoslavia and Bosnia primarily responsible for much of the region's violence. In spite of these differences, U.S. and Russian troops have worked successfully together in United Nations peacekeeping missions in Bosnia since 1995 and Kosovo since 1999.

### *Why does Moscow want close ties with Western Europe and the United States?*

Moscow believes it needs close ties with the powerful economies of Western Europe and the United States. Russia knows that the capital and markets of the West can help revive its sluggish economy.

To the East, Russia has won few friends. Russia's relations with Japan have been hobbled by a dispute over ownership of the Kuriles, a chain of islands north of Japan that the Soviet Union seized at the end of World War II. Close ties with China are doubtful. Russian military strategists view the East Asian giant as their country's chief long-term threat.

Russia's economic weakness has undercut Moscow's leverage with the West. The Russian government has borrowed heavily from foreign financial institutions to close its budget deficit. By mid-1998, Russia's foreign debt was approaching $125 billion. When the value of the Russian ruble plummeted, Mos-

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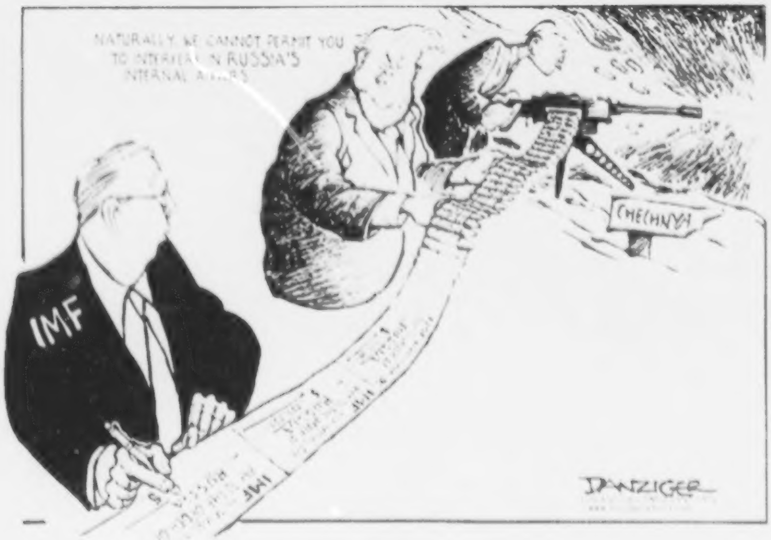
NATURALLY, WE CANNOT PERMIT YOU TO INTERFERE IN RUSSIA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS
IMF
CHECHNYA
DANZIGER

cow announced that it could not repay its debts on time.

Without an economic turn-around, Russia's debt problem will worsen. Meanwhile, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has told Russia not to expect additional loans from the international community unless Russia resumes economic reform. Critics in the West have complained about international loans allowing the Russian government to divert funds to pay for their military campaign in Chechnya.

Like the Russian people themselves, you will have an opportunity in the coming days to consider a range of alternatives for Russia's future. The three viewpoints, or Futures, that you will explore in the next part of this unit are written from a Russian perspective. Each is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs about the appropriate economic system, political structure, and foreign policy strategy for Russia. You should think of the Futures as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting political philosophies from which the Russian people may choose.

At the end of this unit, you will be asked to create a Future that reflects your own beliefs and opinions about where Russia should be heading. You may borrow heavily from one Future, or you may combine ideas from several Futures. Or you may take a new approach altogether. You will need to weigh the risks and trade-offs of whatever you decide. There are, of course, no perfect solutions.

## Futures in Brief

### Future 1 — Restore State Control

The break-up of the Soviet Union will go down in Russian history as a disgraceful episode. In less than a decade, we fell from the status of mighty superpower to being an international beggar. The humiliation must end. Russia's power and influence must be restored. Russia's future must be rebuilt on the greatness of our past. The industrial strength that was developed under the state control of the Soviet leadership must be revived. In the area of foreign policy, we should begin by restoring the might of the Russian military. Only through strength can we regain the prestige that has been squandered. No one, particularly the United States, should stand in the way of our right to protect our national security.

### Future 2 — Proceed with Firmness

Change in Russian history has too often resulted in chaos, turmoil, and misery. This time, however, the past cannot be allowed to repeat itself. To reach a brighter future, we must now put aside the political slogans that have divided us. Above all, the times demand firmness, discipline, and pragmatism. Economic progress must be measured in terms of practical results. Our main goals are to develop a prosperous market economy and a strong, efficient state. Democracy and civil society are important, but they should not hinder achieving Russia's revival as a great country. In the area of foreign policy, we should pursue our national interests with cool calculation. In all of our efforts, let us be guided not by rigid doctrines, but by what is best for Russia.

### Future 3 — Look to the West

The end of the Cold War brought down a barrier that had long separated Russia from the outside world. For the first time since 1917, we Russians have an opportunity to enter the mainstream of Western civilization. The course of history is clear. Societies that reject the principles of democracy and free-market economics will be left behind as humanity advances. We must begin with a firm commitment to free-market economics and democracy. Economic competition must be allowed to transform Russia. Foreign investors willing to contribute to our economic development must not be chased off by corrupt bureaucrats and a half-baked legal system. Russia's past obsession with foreign policy must not be allowed to get in the way of our transformation.

Future
1

# RESTORE STATE CONTROL

The break-up of the Soviet Union will go down in Russian history as a disgraceful episode. Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev allowed their own petty political squabbles to destroy the unity of the Slavic heartland. Their blunders were compounded by so-called "reformers" who have made our country economically dependent on the West and have enriched a handful of opportunists. In less than a decade, we fell from the status of mighty superpower to being an international beggar. The humiliation must end. Russia's power and influence must be restored. We cannot turn our back on our destiny.

Russia's future must be rebuilt on the greatness of our past. The industrial strength that was developed under Soviet leadership must be revived. Government and industry should work as partners to make Russia a respected leader in high-tech fields. We must promote economic development that allows Russia to stand tall among the nations of the world, dependent on no one. Russia's reserves of gas, oil, gold, and other natural resources belong to the Russian people. They must be taken back from the greedy tycoons who have laid claim to them and returned to their rightful owners. Under state control, Russia's vast resources can generate the income to fund our country's industrial revival. In the area of foreign policy, we should begin by restoring the might of the Russian military. Only through strength can we regain the prestige that has been squandered. In the FSU, all must understand that Russian interests cannot be ignored. The historical borders of our homeland — drawn over the centuries with Russian blood — cannot be erased overnight. No one, particularly the United States, should stand in the way of our right to protect our national security. Russia's greatness is forever.

## *What policies should Russia pursue?*

**Economically,** Russia must concentrate on reviving industries that are essential to protecting our national security and restoring our superpower status. The defense and space sectors should receive special attention. The privatization of the energy and mining industries must be reversed. The government must again take control of our nation's most profitable enterprises and slap down the wheeler-dealers who have grown rich through bribery and theft. High tariffs should be put into place to stop the flood of imports from abroad and protect our industries from unfair competition. Economic self-sufficiency should again be emphasized.

**Politically,** Russia must draw on its own political traditions. Western democracy is not suited to a country as huge and diverse as Russia. Rather, Russians demand a leader with the determination and authority to put an end to the politics of division, defeat crime, stamp out corruption, and ensure that the Chechen rebellion is the last challenge to our state. The government must have the strength and vision to unite our people in a common purpose.

**In foreign policy,** we must recognize that Russia's sphere of influence consists of the lands that over the centuries were settled by the Russian people and belonged to the Russian empire. Our interests in the rest of the FSU must be accepted by outside powers. Those republics, such as Belarus, that wish to reunify with their historical homeland should be welcomed back. Russia seeks normal relations with the West, but we demand respect from the United States and its allies. The eastward expansion of NATO amounts to a slap in the face. Likewise, the encroachment of Western oil companies into the Caspian Basin is a threat to our economic security. To again take our rightful position in international affairs, we must sacrifice to restore the strength and discipline of the Russian military.

### *Lessons from history*

The Russian character has been molded by geography. Spread over the vast plain of Eurasia, Russians have been exposed to invaders from all sides. Our people have had no choice but to rally around a strong state and a powerful army. In this century alone, Russia has faced the full might of Germany twice and squared off against the United States in the tense Cold War. In the struggle against Nazi Germany, we were fighting an enemy that sought nothing less than our complete annihilation. A lesser people in similar circumstances would have perished long ago, but we Russians have learned that unity is the key to our survival.

## PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Strengthening the hand of the state will smash the criminal mafias that have terrorized Russia in recent years, give our people a common sense of purpose, and heal the divisions that have torn Russian society.
2. Restoring Russia's military strength will give Russia greater leverage in its dealings with other countries.
3. Reasserting Russia's sphere of influence in the FSU will promote economic development by restoring the economic ties that were severed by the break-up of the Soviet Union.
4. Re-establishing state control over Russia's energy and mineral resources will provide the central government the revenue to overcome crippling budget deficits and to carry out its proper functions.

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## CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Concentrating power in the central government will play into the hands of a future dictator seeking to recreate a police state and crush individual freedom.
2. An aggressive stance in international affairs will lead to tension with the West and harm Russia's efforts to attract foreign investment and expand exports.
3. Strengthening the authority of government bureaucrats will only deepen the corruption and insider dealing that have held back Russia's economic progress.
4. Recreating an empire, pursuing reckless foreign policy adventures, and building up the military will divert resources from Russia's urgent economic and social problems.
5. Pressuring the countries of the FSU to accept Russian dominance will result in conflict between Russia and its neighbors.
6. Tying Russia's economy to the sinking fortunes of Belarus and other backward Soviet republics will act as a drag on Russia's economic progress.

Future
2

# PROCEED WITH FIRMNESS

Change in Russian history has too often resulted in chaos, turmoil, and misery. Today, history has once again thrust change upon us. We are living through a period of great confusion and uncertainty. This time, however, the past cannot be allowed to repeat itself. To reach a brighter future, we must now put aside the political slogans that have divided us. We cannot go back to the failed Soviet system. Neither can we wrap ourselves completely in alien Western values and structures. Russia's situation is unique, and we must find solutions that specifically fit our own circumstances. Weak government and reckless policies will result in disaster. Above all, the times demand firmness, discipline, and pragmatism.

Economic progress must be measured in terms of practical results, not abstract formulas. Competition and innovation can help propel our country forward, but criminal capitalism must not be allowed to overwhelm the order and stability of our society. Our main goals are to develop a prosperous market economy and a strong, efficient state. Democracy and civil society are important, but they should not hinder us from achieving Russia's revival as a great country. Likewise, the government must ensure that reform is always in step with Russia's national security. In the area of foreign policy, we should pursue our national interests with cool calculation. In the FSU, we must pick and choose our allies wisely. Beyond the old Soviet borders, Russia needs trade and investment from the advanced countries of the West and East Asia to achieve our long-term economic goals. At the same time, we should reject U.S. attempts to dictate our relations with Iran, Iraq, and Serbia. In all of our efforts, let us be guided not by rigid doctrines, but by what is best for Russia.

***What policies should Russia pursue?***

**Economically,** the central government should protect the stability of Russian society. The state must wrest control from greedy oligarchs who drain money from enterprises that once provided revenue to the state. Taxes must be collected to fund the government. Wages must be paid on time. The terms for paying our country's foreign debt must be renegotiated to ease the economic pressure on the central government. The health of our vital defense industries must be nurtured by state support and barriers to unfair trade. In addition, we should work to strengthen the economic ties that link us to other countries of the FSU. Beyond the FSU, we should seek to expand our foreign trade, especially with the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia.

**Politically,** Russia should not be constrained by models from either the West or the Soviet era. Russia cannot be allowed to veer in one direction and then another as political parties or powerful business interests vie for power. Above all, we should construct a political system that protects the social order without turning back the clock to the Soviet police state. The central government should have a strong hand to safeguard Russia's national interests. Internal conflicts in Chechnya and elsewhere must be settled with firmness to ensure order and security for our people.

**In foreign policy,** Russia must steer an independent course. To promote national security, we should pursue closer ties with the key countries of the FSU, particularly Ukraine and Kazakstan. While trade and cooperation with the West are important, we will never accept the dictates of Washington. Russian interests, not U.S. ambition, should determine our policy toward the Middle East, East Asia, and other crucial regions. By the same token, we must not permit emotion to overwhelm common sense. For now, we must learn to live with NATO expansion in Central Europe and the presence of Western energy companies in the Caspian Sea Basin, even as we work to gradually rebuild Russia and reassert our influence.

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### *Lessons from history*

Russia has repeatedly suffered at the hands of leaders bent on rapid change. In this century alone, millions have died in communism's efforts to reshape the Russian people. During the civil war of 1917-20, the vain ambitions of Lenin and his followers left Russia ravaged and starving. Even worse was Stalin's campaign in the 1930s to impose state control over every facet of the economy. In trying to speed up the wheel of history, Lenin and Stalin in fact planted the seeds of the communist system's destruction. Yeltsin's blind leap into capitalism was likewise doomed. Like his communist predecessors, Yeltsin too put his faith in dangerously flawed theories.

## PROS

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## CONS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Setting Russia on a moderate and balanced course will undercut the appeal of extremists on both sides of the political spectrum.

2. Reasserting the role of the state to wrest control of the economy from the oligarchs will protect workers from the harshest features of capitalism and help the people regain faith in government.

3. Maintaining good relations with key former Soviet countries will lay the foundation for solid economic partnerships and military cooperation.

4. Pursuing a flexible, independent foreign policy will open up trade opportunities for Russia and allow our country to steer clear of international conflicts.

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Economic reforms and capitalism have brought only hardship and suffering to the people.

2. A strong, efficient leadership that is willing to put economic development before democratic rights risks a return to the autocratic ways of Russia's past.

3. A foreign policy that seeks friendly relations with all countries of the West ignores the fact that on many issues our country's interests clash with those of the West.

4. By not cooperating with the United States and its allies on certain issues like Iraq and Serbia, Russia compromises its relationships with the leading industrial democracies.

5. Money devoted to military industries diverts resources from combating the health problems and economic hardships that are causing our declining birthrates.

6. The use of military force to settle conflicts like the one in Chechnya will cost Russian lives and serves little strategic purpose.

Future
3

# LOOK TO THE WEST

> The end of the Cold War brought down a barrier that has long separated Russia from the outside world. For the first time since 1917, we Russians have an opportunity to enter the mainstream of Western civilization. In the past, Russians have failed to live up to the challenge. If we fail today, future generations of Russians will not forgive us. The course of history is clear. Societies that reject the principles of democracy and free-market economics will be left behind as humanity advances. We can no longer retreat into the ignorance, backwardness, and barbarity that has kept our people in chains. Generations of Russian reformers have been struck down by power-hungry tyrants before they could reach their goals. Now we must complete the journey and link Russia to the outside world.
>
> The path Russia must follow is clearly marked. We must begin with a firm commitment to free-market economics and democracy. The rule of law must apply to everyone, including our leaders. Private property must be guaranteed. Economic competition must be allowed to transform Russia. A fair and efficient system of tax collection must be put in place. Foreign investors willing to contribute to our economic development must not be chased off by corrupt bureaucrats and a half-baked legal system. Russia's past obsession with foreign policy must not be allowed to get in the way of our transformation. We cannot be shackled to the interests of a failed empire. The struggling nations of Central Asia and Transcaucasia offer little for Russia's future. There is no need for military priorities to again dominate our society. Rather, we should act as a responsible member of the international community. Russia will not be transformed overnight, but ultimately we will be able to take our rightful place among the nations of the West.

### *What policies should Russia pursue?*

**Economically,** Russia must strive to join the advanced economies of the United States, Western Europe, and East Asia in the global marketplace. The barriers to free-market competition must continue to be dismantled. The tax system must be reformed to encourage investment and to provide the government with a reliable stream of revenue. The government must repay its debts and, in turn, require that businesses and private individuals repay theirs. The institution of private property should be clearly protected under the law.

**Politically,** the fundamental principles of democracy must guide Russia's future. Freedom of expression, respect for human rights, checks and balances among branches of government, and fair elections must be the cornerstones of Russia's political system. A balanced federal system should be created, like that in the United States, that clearly divides political power among the local, regional, and central governments.

**In foreign policy,** Russia's interests lie with the international community. Russia should develop a partnership with the United States, Western Europe, and Japan to ensure peace, stability, and global cooperation. Ultimately, Russia should seek firm economic and security ties with the leading industrial democracies. There is no sense in aligning ourselves with closed, backward countries, such as Iran or China, simply to thumb our nose at the United States. The Russian military should be downsized to meet its role in the new international system. Emphasis should be placed on creating a rapid deployment force that would be available to participate in international missions.

### *Lessons from history*

Russian history is the story of missed opportunities. In the 1860s and in the years after 1905, Russia seemed securely on the path toward Western-style democracy. Both reform efforts were thwarted, however, by a conservative backlash. In 1917, a liberal democratic regime came to power only to be swept aside by the communists. Gorbachev's reforms offered hope as well that Russia would finally join the West, but *perestroika* and *glasnost* proved to be half-hearted measures. History shows us that the forces separating Russia from the West are deeply entrenched. They can be overcome only by a long-term commitment to the free-market system and democracy.

## PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Creating an economic system that shares the same fundamental principles as the economies of the leading industrial democracies will help make Russia a major area of foreign investment.
2. A firm partnership with the West in international affairs will serve to deter Iran, Turkey, China, and other regional powers from trying to spread their influence in the countries of the FSU.
3. As the experience of South Korea, Taiwan, and other newly industrialized countries has shown, close cooperation with the international community is Russia's only route to economic development.
4. Opening Russia up to foreign technology and investment will expose Russians to the latest advances in computers, biotechnology, telecommunications and other high-tech fields that they missed out on during the Soviet era.

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## CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Closer economic and foreign policy ties between Russia and the West will deepen Russia's economic dependence and international isolation.
2. Overlooking our relations with the other countries of the FSU will leave our borders vulnerable to smuggling, terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, and other threats to our national security.
3. Opening up Russia to foreign investment will lead to the reckless exploitation of our natural resources and further damage to our environment.
4. Sticking to the principles of capitalism will cost tens of millions of Russians their jobs, widen the gap between rich and poor, and feed conditions that produce crime and violence.
5. Close relations with the West will sharpen tensions between Russia and many non-Western countries, such as China, Iran, and the Muslim states of the FSU.
6. Weakening the authority of the state will encourage regional leaders to set their own course, putting Russia on the path toward chaos and disintegration.

# Supplementary Documents

## "The Tasks of Business Executives"
## Speech by Josef Stalin, February 1931

*(Below is the abbreviated text of a speech delivered by Josef Stalin to Communist Party leaders. The speech, which was given at a time when Soviet officials were often using brutal methods to impose a command economy, reveals Stalin's interpretation of Russian history.)*

...Science, technical experience, knowledge, are all things that can be acquired. We may not have them today, but tomorrow we will. The main thing is to have the passionate Bolshevik desire to master technique, to master the science of production. Everything can be achieved, everything can be overcome, if there is a passionate desire to do so.

It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo somewhat, to put a check on the movement. No, comrades, it is not possible! The tempo must not be reduced! On the contrary, we must increase it as much as is within our powers and possibilities. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world.

To slacken the tempo would mean falling behind. And those who fall behind get beaten! One feature of the history of old Russia was the continual beatings she suffered because of her backwardness. She was beaten by the Mongol khans. She was beaten by the Turkish beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal lords. She was beaten by the Polish and Lithuanian gentry. She was beaten by the British and French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons. All beat her — because of her backwardness, military backwardness, cultural backwardness, political backwardness, industrial backwardness, and agricultural backwardness. They beat her because to do so was profitable and could be done with impunity. Do you remember the words of the prerevolutionary poet: "You are poor and abundant, mighty and impotent, Mother Russia." Those gentlemen were quite familiar with the verses of the old poet. They beat her saying: "You are abundant," so one can enrich oneself at your expense. They beat her saying: "You are poor and impotent," so you can be beaten and plundered with impunity. Such is the law of the exploiters — to beat the backward and the weak. It is the jungle law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak — therefore you are wrong; hence you can be beaten and enslaved. You are mighty — therefore you are right; hence, we must be wary of you.

That is why we must no longer lag behind.

In the past we had no fatherland, nor could we have one. But now that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in our hands, in the hands of the people, we have a fatherland, and we will defend its independence. Do you want our socialist fatherland to be beaten and to lose its independence? If you do not want this you must put an end to its backwardness in the shortest possible time and develop genuine Bolshevik tempo in building up its socialist system of economy. There is no other way. That is why Lenin said on the eve of the October Revolution: "Either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries."

We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall be crushed.

This is what our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. dictate to us.

But we have other, still more serious and more important obligations. They are obligations to the world proletariat. They coincide with our obligations to the workers and the peasants of the U.S.S.R. But we place them higher. The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world working class. We achieved victory not solely through the efforts of the working class of the U.S.S.R., but also thanks to the support of the working class of the world. Without this support we would have been torn to pieces long ago. It is said that our country is the shock brigade of the proletariat of all countries. This is a fitting definition. But this imposes very serious obligations upon us. Why does the international proletariat support us? How did we merit this support? By the fact that we were the first to hurl ourselves into the battle against capitalism, we were the first to establish a working-class state, we were the first to start building socialism. By the fact that we are doing work which, if successful, will change the whole world and free the entire working class. But what is needed for success? The elimination of our backwardness, the development of a high Bolshevik tempo of construction. We must march forward in such a way that the working class of the whole world, looking at us, may say: This is my vanguard, this is my shock brigade, this is my working-class state, this is my fatherland; they are promoting their cause, which is *our* cause, and they are doing this well; let us support them against the capitalists and promote the cause of the world revolution. Must we not live up to the hopes of the world's working class, must we not fulfill our obligations to them? Yes, we must if we do not want utterly to disgrace ourselves.

Such are our obligations, internal and international.

As you see, they dictate to us a Bolshevik tempo of development.

I will not say that we have accomplished nothing in regard to economic management during these years. In fact, we have accomplished a good deal. We have doubled our industrial output as compared with the prewar level. We have created the largest-scale agricultural production in the world. But we could have accomplished more had we tried hard during this period really to master production, the technique of production, the financial and economic side of it.

In ten years at most we must make good the distance that separates us from the advanced capitalist countries. We have all the "objective" possibilities for this. The only thing lacking is the ability to take proper advantage of these possibilities. And that depends on us. *Only* on us! It is time we learned to take advantage of these possibilities. It is time to put an end to the rotten policy of noninterference in production. It is time to adopt a new policy, a policy adapted to the present times — the policy of *interfering in everything*. If you are a factory manager, then interfere in all the affairs of the factory, look into everything, let nothing escape you, learn and learn again. Bolsheviks must master technique. It is time Bolsheviks themselves became experts. In the period of reconstruction technique decides everything. And a business executive who does not want to master technique is a joke and not an executive.

It is said that it is hard to master technique. That is not true! There are no fortresses which Bolsheviks cannot capture. We have solved a number of most difficult problems. We have overthrown capitalism. We have assumed power. We have built up a huge socialist industry. We have swung the middle peasants to the path of socialism. We have already accomplished what is most important from the point of view of construction. What remains to be done is not so much: to study technique, to master science. And when we have done that we will develop a tempo of which we dare not even dream at present.

And we will do that if we really want to....

# The "Secret Speech" by Nikita Khrushchev
# Delivered to the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress, February 24, 1956

*(Below are excerpts of a speech delivered by Nikita Khrushchev to a closed session of Communist Party leaders. The speech marked the first time a prominent Soviet official openly criticized the brutality of Josef Stalin's regime.)*

...Comrades: The cult of the individual acquired such monstrous size chiefly because Stalin himself, using all conceivable methods, supported the glorification of his own person. This is supported by numerous facts. One of the most characteristic examples of Stalin's self-gratification and his lack of even elementary modesty is the edition of his *Short Biography*, which was published in 1948....

We need not give here examples of the loathsome adulation filling this book. All we need to add is that they all were approved and edited by Stalin personally and some of them were added in his own handwriting to the draft text of the book.

What did Stalin consider essential to write in his book? Did he want to cool the ardor of his flatterers who were composing his *Short Biography*? No! He marked the very places where he thought the praise of his services was insufficient.

Here are some examples characterizing Stalin's activity, added in Stalin's own hand:

"In this fight against the skeptics and capitulators, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and Kamenevites, there was definitely welded together, after Lenin's death, that leading the Party...that upheld the great manner of Lenin, rallied the Party behind Leninist behests, and brought the Soviet people into the broad road of industrializing the country and collectivizing the rural economy. The leader of this core and the guiding force of the Party and the State was Comrade Stalin."

Thus writes Stalin himself! Then he adds:

"Although he performed his task of leader of the Party and the people with consummate skill and enjoyed the unreserved support of the entire Soviet people, Stalin never allowed his work to be marred by the slightest hint of vanity, conceit or self-adulation."

Where and when could a leader so praise himself? Is this worthy of a leader of the Marxist-Leninist type? No. Precisely against this did Marx and Engels take such a strong position. This also was always sharply condemned by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin....

Stalin recognized as the best a text of the national anthem of the Soviet Union which contains not a word about the Communist Party; it contains, however, the following unprecedented praise of Stalin: *"Stalin brought us up in loyalty to the people. He inspired us to great toil and acts."*

In these lines of the anthem is the whole educational, directional, and inspirational activity of the great Leninist party ascribed to Stalin. This is, of course, a clear deviation from Marxism-Leninism, a clear debasing and belittling of the role of the party. We should add for your information that the Presidium of the Central Committee has already passed a resolution concerning the composition of a new text of the anthem, which will reflect the role of the people, and the role of the party. (Loud, prolonged applause.)

And was it without Stalin's knowledge that many of the largest enterprises and towns were named after him? Was it without his knowledge that Stalin monuments were erected in the whole country — these "memorials to the living"? It is a fact that Stalin himself had signed on July 2, 1951, a resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the erection on the Volga-Don Canal of an impressive monument to Stalin; on September 4 of the same year he issued an order making thirty-three tons of copper available for the construction of this impressive monument. Anyone who has visited the Stalingrad area must have seen the huge statue which is being built there, and that on a site which hardly any people frequent. Huge sums were spent to build it at a time when people of this area had lived since the war in huts. Consider yourself, was Stalin right when he wrote in his biography that "...he did not allow in himself...even a shadow of conceit, pride, or self-adoration"?

At the same time Stalin gave proofs of his lack of respect for Lenin's memory. It is not a coincidence that, despite the decision taken over 30 years ago to build a Palace of Soviets as a monument to Vladimir Ilyich, this palace was not built, its construction was always postponed, and the project allowed to lapse.

We cannot forget to recall the Soviet Government resolution of August 14, 1925, concerning the "founding of Lenin prizes for educational work." This resolution was published in the press, but until this day there are no Lenin prizes. This, too, should be corrected. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)

During Stalin's life, thanks to known methods which I have mentioned, and quoting facts, for instance, from the *Short Biography* of Stalin — all events were explained as if Lenin played only a secondary role, even during the October Socialist Revolution. In many films and in many literary works, the figure of Lenin was incorrectly presented and inadmissibility depreciated.

Stalin loved to see the film *The Unforgettable Year of 1919*, in which he was shown on the steps of an armored train and where he was practically vanquishing the foe with his own saber. Let Kliment Yefremovich [Voroshilov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, 1953-1960], our dear friend, find the necessary courage to write the truth about Stalin; after all, he knows how Stalin had fought. It will be difficult for Comrade Voroshilov to undertake this, but it would be good if he did it. Everyone will approve of it, both the people and the party. Even his grandsons will thank him. (Prolonged applause.)

In speaking about the events of the October Revolution and about the civil war, the impression was created that Stalin always played the main role, as if everywhere and always Stalin had suggested to Lenin what to do and how to do it. However, this is slander to Lenin. (Prolonged applause.)

I will probably not sin against the truth when I say that probably 99 percent of the persons present here heard and knew very little about Stalin before the year 1924, while Lenin was known to all; he was known to the whole party, to the whole nation, from the children to the graybeards. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)

All this has to be thoroughly revised, so that history, literature, and the fine arts properly reflect V.I. Lenin's role and the great deeds of our Communist Party and of the Soviet people — the creative people. (Applause.)

Comrades! The cult of the individual has caused the employment of faulty principles in party work and in economic activity; it brought about rude violation of internal party and Soviet democracy, sterile administration, deviations of all sorts, covering up of short comings and varnishing of reality. Our nation gave birth to many flatterers and specialists in false optimism and deceit.

We should also not forget that due to the numerous arrests of party, Soviet and economic leaders, many workers began to work uncertainly, showed over-cautiousness, feared all which was new, feared their own shadows and began to see less initiative in their work....

Stalin's reluctance to consider life's realities and the fact that he was not aware of the real state of affairs in the provinces can be illustrated by his direction of agriculture.

All those who interested themselves even a little in the national situation saw the difficult situation in agriculture, but Stalin never even noted it. Did we tell Stalin about this? Yes, we told him, but he did not support us. Why? Because Stalin never travelled anywhere, did not meet city and *kolkhoz* workers; he did not know the actual situation in the provinces.

He knew the country and agriculture only from films. And these films had dressed up and beautified the existing situation in agriculture....

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin looked at life differently; he was always close to the people; he used to receive peasant delegates, and often spoke at factory gatherings; he used to visit villages and talk with the peasants.

Stalin separated himself from the people and never went anywhere. This lasted tens of years. The last time he visited a village was in January 1928 when he visited Siberia in connection with grain deliveries. How then could he have known the situation in the provinces?...

Comrades! If we sharply criticize today the cult of the individual which was so widespread during Stalin's life and if we speak about the many negative phenomena generated by this cult which is so alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, various persons may ask: How could it be? Stalin headed the party and the country for thirty years and many victories were gained during his lifetime. Can we deny this? In my opinion, the question can be asked in this manner only by those who are blinded and hopelessly hypnotized by the cult of the individual, only by those who do not understand the essence of the revolution and of the Soviet state, only by those who do not understand, in a Leninist manner, the role of the party and of the nation in the development of the Soviet society.

The Socialist Revolution was attained by the working class and by the poor peasantry with the partial support of the middle-class peasants. It was attained by the people under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin's great service consisted of the fact that he created a militant party of the working class, but he was armed with Marxist understanding of the laws of social development and with the science of proletarian victory in the fight with capitalism, and he steeled this party in the crucible of revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people.

During this fight the party consistently defended the interests of the people, became its experienced leader, and led the working masses to power, to the creation of the first socialist state....

Our historical victories were attained thanks to the organizational work of the party, to the many provincial organizations, and to the self-sacrificing work of our great nation. These victories are the result of the great drive and activity of the nation and of the party as a whole; they are not at all the fruit of the leadership of Stalin, as the situation was pictured during the period of the cult of the individual....

In the last years, when we managed to free ourselves of the harmful practice of the cult of the individual and took several proper steps in the sphere of internal and external policies, everyone saw how activity grew before their very eyes, how the creative activity of the broad working masses developed, how favorably all of this acted upon the development of economy and of culture. (Applause.)....

Comrades: We must abolish the cult of the individual decisively, once and for all; we must draw the proper conclusions concerning both ideological-theoretical and practical work. It is necessary for this purpose:

First, in a Bolshevik manner to condemn and to eradicate the cult of the individual as alien to Marxism-Leninism and not consonant with the principles of party leadership and the norms of party life, and to fight inexorably all attempts at bringing back this practice in one form or another.

To return to and actually practice in all our ideological work the most important theses of Marxist-Leninist science about the people as the creator of history and as the creator of all material and spiritual good of humanity, about the decisive role of the Marxist party in the revolutionary fight for the transformation of society, about the victory of communism.

In this connection we will be forced to do much work in order to examine critically from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and to correct the widely spread erroneous views connected with the cult of the individual in the sphere of history, philosophy, economy and of the other sciences, as well as in literature and the fine arts. It is especially necessary that in the immediate future we compile a serious textbook of the history of our party which will be edited in accordance with the scientific Marxist objectivism, a textbook of the history of Soviet society, a book pertaining to the events of the civil war and the Great Patriotic War.

Secondly, to continue systematically and consistently the work done by the party's Central Committee during the last ten years, a work characterized by minute observation in all party organizations, from the bottom to the top, of the Leninist principles of party leadership, characterized, above all, by the main principle of collective leadership, characterized by the observation of the norms of party life described in the statutes of our party, and finally, characterized by the wide practice of criticism and self-criticism.

Thirdly, to restore completely the Leninist principles of Soviet socialist democracy, expressed in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, to fight willfulness of individuals abusing their power. The evil caused by acts violating revolutionary socialist legality which have accumulated during a long time as a result of the negative influence of the cult of the individual has to be completely corrected.

Comrades! The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has manifested with a new strength the unshakable unity of our party, its cohesiveness around the Central Committee, its resolute will to accomplish the great task of building communism. (Tumultuous applause.)....

# Russian President Vladimir Putin's
# State of Nation Speech to both Houses of Parliament
# July 8, 2000

*(Below are excerpts of a speech delivered by President Putin. The speech has been given headings for clarification.)*

Esteemed deputies of the State Duma and members of the Federation Council. Esteemed citizens of Russia. I am delivering my address to the Federal Assembly of Russia in accordance with the constitution. It will deal with priority tasks in the work of the state authorities. A great deal has already been started and is being done by us together.

However, there are also tasks for the future which will require intensive efforts. We agreed with the leadership of both chambers to meet a little later - after my speech - and discuss the main provisions in the address I am delivering.

These laws will change the situation in the social and taxation spheres. The introduction of these laws will become a starting point for a new era, both in building the state and in laying down the rules of economic behavior. An era is beginning in Russia when the authorities are gaining the moral right to demand that the established state norms should be observed.

The unreasonable level of taxation has perhaps become one of the most acute problems in recent years. It is one of the most acute problems. Much was said about it, but there were no further developments, and discussions could not break through a vicious circle. Very few people believed that the situation could change. Now the first steps have been made. New legislative parameters are being created, and new rules are being set. But the work in this sphere - as we have just discussed this with the prime minister - is going very slowly, with many difficulties.

The introduction of a single income tax rate and decreasing the amount of payments to social and extra-budgetary funds will help to move income out of the shadow area. Easing the tax burden will make it possible for conscientious and hard-working entrepreneurs to develop their own business in their own country with confidence.

We must admit that the state itself has to a greater degree facilitated the dictatorship of the shadow economy and grey schemes, the raging corruption and massive outflow of the capital abroad. The state has contributed to this because the rules were vague and restrictions were not well defined and not justified.

We have been trying to make our choice for a long time - whether to lean on others' advice, help and credits, or to continue our development supported by our own uniqueness and our own strength. Many states in the world were faced with a similar choice. If Russia remains weak, we'll indeed have to make this choice. This will be the choice made by a weak state, a weak choice.

The only realistic choice for Russia is the choice to be a strong country, strong and confident in its strength, strong not in spite of the world community, not against other strong states, but together with them. Today when we are moving forward it is more important not to reminisce about the past, but to look into the future.

We all - entrepreneurs, the power-wielding structures, all citizens - must strive to deeply feel our responsibility for the country. Strict observation of laws must become a need for all people in Russia by their own choice.

A policy built on the foundation of open and honest relations between state and society will protect us from repeating previous mistakes and will be a fundamental condition for a new social contract.

Esteemed colleagues: Before talking about priorities and setting tasks, let me list for you the most acute problems facing our country.

### *Population decline threatens the survival of the nation*

We have come to regard Russia as a system of bodies of authority or as an economic mechanism. But Russia is first and foremost people. People who look on it as their home. Their welfare and a worthy life for them are the main task facing the powers that be - whoever these may be. But the fact is that our home today is far from being a comfortable one. For very many people it is still difficult to bring up children, to ensure a fitting old age for their parents - life is difficult. As each year goes by there are fewer and fewer of us citizens of Russia. For several years past the population of the country has been diminishing on average by 750,000 a year. And if we are to believe the forecasts - which are based on realistic work by people who are experts in such matters, who have devoted their entire lives to this - then in 15 years from now there may be 22 million fewer Russians. I ask you to ponder this figure - one seventh of the country's population. If the present tendency continues there will be a threat to the survival of the nation. We are under a real threat of becoming a drifting nation. Our demographic situation today is an alarming one.

### *Russia needs a competitive and just economy*

Two years ago, seeming well-being, based on large-scale state borrowings, collapsed under the impact of a powerful financial crisis. Today's economic indices look optimistic only against the background of yesterday's. I would like to stress this - only against the background of yesterday's. However, they are very modest as compared with other countries which are developing at a much higher rate and in a much more stable manner than we do. The current growth is only partly connected to the renewal of the economic mechanism. In many ways, it results from favorable foreign economy factors.

We cannot put up with this situation, and the reason for this is not just our national pride - although this is also important - the question is much more acute and dramatic: will we be able to survive as a nation, as a civilization, if our well-being, again and again, will depend on international loans and favors from leaders of the world economy. Russia needs a competitive, effective and socially just economic system, a system which provides for a stable political development. Stable economy is the main guarantee of democratic society and part and parcel of a strong state which is respected in the world.

### *Russia faces a challenge to its sovereignty*

Russia also comes across serious external problems. Our country is involved in all world processes, including economic globalization. We also have no right to miss the information revolution which is now gaining momentum in the world. We cannot and we should not lose strategically. This is precisely why an updated foreign policy blueprint was approved recently. It stipulates the supremacy of internal objectives over external ones. Independence of our foreign policy is beyond any doubt. This policy is based on pragmatism, economic efficiency and priority of national objectives. However, we still need to work to ensure that these principles become a norm of state life. The cold war remained in the past, but dire consequences are still have to be overcome. These are attempts to infringe on the sovereign rights of states under the pretext of humanitarian operations or, as it is fashionable to say now, humanitarian interventions. These are also difficulties in finding understanding on issues which pose a regional or international threat.

Thus, within the context of the type of external aggression which is new to us - international terrorism and the direct attempt to move this threat inside the country - Russia had to face a systematic challenge to its state sovereignty and territorial integrity, face forces seeking geopolitical reorganization of the world.

Our efforts to rid Russia of this danger are sometimes interpreted in a biased and one-sided way, become a pretext for various kinds of speculation. In this regard, contribution to objective perception of Russia and provision of accurate information on developments in our country should become an important area of [Russia's] foreign policy. At present, this is an issue of both its reputation and national security. Response to these and many other challenges is impossible without the strengthening of the state. Not a single nationwide task can be resolved without this. Despite the fact that the strengthening of the state has been declared the crucial aim of Russia's policy for more than one year, over all these years we have not moved anywhere beyond declarations and empty words, have not moved anywhere.

### *Only a strong state can protect freedoms*

Our essential task is to learn how to use the state levers for ensuring freedom, freedom of the individual, freedom of entrepreneurship, free development of civil society institutions. The debate on the ratio between force and freedom is very old, older than time itself. It still gives rise to speculation on the subject of dictatorship and authoritarianism. However, our stand is perfectly clear. Only a strong - effective, in case someone does not life the word strong - effective democratic state is able to protect civil, political and economic freedoms and to create the conditions for a good life for the people and the prospering of our native land.

Esteemed deputies and members of the Federation Council. Many of our failures are rooted in the fact that civil society is underdeveloped and the authorities do not know how to communicate and cooperate with it. The authorities always go to extremes. They either ignore society or become excessively protective of it. The domineering idea is that everything in Russia hinges on the authorities. The authorities are indeed responsible for everything. However, a great deal depends on Russia's citizens themselves.

The development of the country is largely determined by the degree of their responsibility, maturity of political parties and public organizations, the responsible attitude of the media. Important changes have taken place in the country over the past decade. The constitution guarantees the rights and freedoms of the individual. A democratic political system has been established.

A multi-party political system has become a reality. The Russians elect their president and deputies of the State Duma, governors, mayors and the bodies of local self-government. However, quite often the distance separating laws from real life is too great.

We have only outlined the civil society to be built in Russia. Joint and patient work is required now, to make society the government's equal partner. We do not always succeed yet in combining patriotic responsibility for the country's future with what Stolypin once described as civil freedoms.

This is why it is still so difficult to find a way out of false conflicts between the values of personal freedom and the state's interests.

### *Strong political parties need to be built*

Meanwhile, it is not possible to have a strong state without respect for human rights and freedoms. Only a democratic state is capable of ensuring the balance between the interests of an individual and society, of combining a private initiative with all-national objectives. In a democratic society, political parties provide a constant link between the people and the authorities.

Thanks to elections, this instrument of major importance has been given the best opportunities for development. Without parties, it is impossible to carry out the policy of the majority or to defend the positions of the minority.

On the background of centuries-long traditions of parliamentarism and multi-party systems in other countries, the drawbacks of our party system are noticeable especially clearly.
It is advantageous for a weak power to have weak parties. The weak power finds it much more comfortable and easy to live according to the rules of political haggling. But a strong power is interested in having strong rivals. Only under the conditions of political competition can it be possible to have a serious dialogue about the development of our state.

Russia needs parties that enjoy mass-scale support and stable authority. Russia does not need another bureaucrats' party that sucks up to the authorities, and even more so, tries to replace the authorities.

### *Without a free media Russia will not survive*

In the building of a civil society the media have an exceptionally important role to play. We talk so much and so often about this problem. In standing up for the right to freedom Russian journalists have often risked their own careers - and not only careers, they have risked their lives. Many have perished. Nevertheless a free press has come about in Russia. Even so, the Russian media - like society as a whole - are still in the phase of being built. This needs to be said frankly. Like a mirror, they reflect all the country's problems and growing pains. Because they are working right here with us - they are not observing events from some separate island. Whatever the nature of society, whatever the nature of the powers that be, so journalism will be. So when people often tell me to get to grips with the media, to do this or that, my response is that we need to get to grips with society as a whole, then the media will naturally change too.

But without truly free media Russian democracy will simply not survive, and we will not succeed in building a civil society. Unfortunately we have not yet managed to work out clear democratic rules guaranteeing genuine independence for the fourth estate - and I want to emphasize the word genuine. Journalistic freedom has become a tasty morsel for politicians and weighty financial groups. It has become a convenient instrument in the inter-clan struggle. As president of the country I consider it my duty to draw public attention to this. Censorship and interference in the activities of the media are prohibited by law. The authorities adhere strictly to this principle. But censorship can come not only from the state and interference can be not only administrative.

Economic inefficiency of a large proportion of mass media outlets makes them dependant on the commercial and political interests of the bosses and sponsors of these media outlets, makes it possible to use the mass media for squaring accounts with competitors and, sometimes, even to turn them into mass misinformation outlets and into a means of struggle against the state. Therefore, we are obliged to guarantee real freedom to journalists, not ostentatious one, and to create legal and economic conditions in the country for a civilized information business. The freedom of speech was and will remain an unshakable value of Russian democracy. This is our fundamental stand.

### *A cultural "renaissance"*

I would like to dwell on one more important issue. I am convinced that society's development is unthinkable without agreement on common objectives. And these objectives are not just material ones - spiritual and moral values are no less important. Russia's unity is bonded by patriotism, which is inherent in our people, as well as cultural traditions and common historic memory. And nowadays, a growing interest in our country's history, in our roots and everything that is dear to all of us can be seen in our arts, in the theatre and cinematography. Undoubtedly - in any case, I am convinced of this - this is the beginning of new spiritual development and new renaissance.

The country's democratic system and the openness of new Russia to the world do not run counter to our originality and patriotism, and do not prevent us from finding our own answers to the questions of spirituality and morals. And there is no need to carry out a special search for a national idea. It itself is maturing within our society. And the main thing is to understand what kind of Russia we believe in and what kind of Russia we would like to see. With the abundance of viewpoints and opinions, and with the variety of party platforms we had and we have common values, the values which consolidate us and which make it possible for us to be referred to as a single nation.

### *The state should not interfere in the economy*

Esteemed colleagues. Going over to the priorities in the economic policy, it is necessary, first and foremost, to make it clear what stands behind our economic growth, whether or not it is stable and to what extent it is vulnerable to influences from outside. I spoke about this at the very beginning, but I would now like to dwell on this in greater detail.

On the one hand, today's indices partially result from favorable foreign trade factors. Everybody in this hall understands perfectly well what I am talking about. On the other hand, the behavior of enterprises, market entities is beginning to change. They are becoming ever more oriented towards effective demand and they are reducing production costs. This is also a fact which cannot be ignored. At the same time, there is a danger that these tendencies will fail to take root here because the in-depth reasons for instability in our economic development remain the same - the basic principles for the functioning of the economy are changing at a slow pace.

The gist of these problems is that the state interferes excessively in spheres where it should be absent and is absent where its presence is needed. Today the participation of the state is superfluous in the spheres of property, entrepreneurship and, in part, consumption. And, conversely, the state remains passive when it comes to the creation of a single economic space for the country, the obligatory observance of laws and the protection of ownership rights.

The main obstacles to economic growth are high taxes, the arbitrary actions of functionaries and the rampage of criminals. It is up to the state to tackle these problems. However, a high-spending and wasteful state cannot reduce taxes. A state that is subject to corruption and with imprecise delineation of competencies will not deliver entrepreneurs from the arbitrary actions of functionaries and the influence of crime.

### *Competing in the world market*

An ineffectual state is the main cause of the lengthy and profound economic crisis. I am totally convinced of that. It is a crisis whose manifestations are well known. Very many of our country's enterprises remain uncompetitive. They have survived mainly thanks to the devaluation of the ruble, the maintenance of low prices for energy resources, nonpayments and barter. The economy's orientation towards raw materials remains. Budget revenues depend in large measure on the dynamics of world prices for energy resources. We are losing out on the competitive world market, which is geared more and more to innovative sectors and to the new economy: the knowledge and technology economy. A significant part of the Russian economy remains a shadow economy.

One of the symptoms of the weakness of the state and its inconsistency in the implementation of essential reforms is an excessive accumulation of state debt, particularly the foreign one. Despite repeated restructurings, the burden of state debt represents a threat to the development of the state. The accumulated debts force us to spend at least a third of budget revenues on their servicing and repayment. The problem is that they are not getting any smaller. The restructuring is such that they are not getting smaller, but only grow.

We have become hostages to a model of the economy based on populist policies. We have tried to employ cosmetic measures to deal with diseases. We have constantly postponed the adoption of systemic and fundamental solutions, aimed at the long term. We need to draw lessons from our experience and admit that the key role of the state in the economy is, without any doubts, to defend economic freedom.

### *State must defend private initiative and property*

Our strategic policy is the following: less administration, more free enterprise, more freedom to produce, to trade and to invest. The essence of state regulation in the economy does not lie in excessive administrative levers or state expansion in certain sectors - we have been through all that before and that is not efficient. Also, state regulation does not lie in support of chosen enterprises or market participants. State regulation lies in defending private initiative and all forms of ownership. The task of the authorities is to regulate the work of state institutions that ensure the work of the market.

We won't achieve stable development without truly independent courts and an effective system of law-enforcement bodies. I want to stress that no national program will be successful unless we ensure a single economic and legal space. It is an axiom for a federate state.

Even today restrictions of economic activity in the country are coming from everywhere. We can see them coming from everywhere: from federal, regional and local authorities. The federal authorities are responsible for providing the same conditions for economic activity in the country. But territorial bodies often introduce bans on grain exports, restrict the sale of alcoholic products, hamper the setting up of branches by banks that are "not theirs" in inverted commas, and create obstacles on the way of free circulation of capital, goods and services. That is disgraceful and shameful. That may seem to be advantageous but in actual fact it is leading to disaster.

One must admit that the state will not be able in the immediate future to avoid participating in the development of some sectors of our economy, I mean direct participation by the state. The state can't avoid that and it shouldn't. Such sectors as, for instance, the defence-industrial sector. The state will continue to keep a close eye on strategically important sectors.

### The business climate remains unfavorable

Esteemed deputies and members of the Federation Council. Unfortunately, the business climate in our country is improving too slowly. It still remains unfavorable. Business risks and taxes are high. The mechanisms for the registration of companies are complicated. There are endless checks. In a number of cases the functions of state agencies turned out to be intertwined with the functions of commercial organizations. This state of affairs should not be tolerated and needs to be changed.

The government and the head of government should work more energetically on this subject. We know that economic and administrative functions just get blended together in some central departments. This will not do. This contradicts both common sense and existing legislation.

Firstly, the protection of ownership rights should be ensured. The state will guarantee that shareholders will have access to information about the operation of companies. It will limit possibilities for erosion of capital and diversion of assets. The ownership rights of citizens must be protected. Their ownership of their homes, land plots, bank accounts and other real estate and movable property should be guaranteed. It is important to establish the legal foundation for the private property rights where they have not so far been established. This primarily concerns land, real estate. These are acute issues. They should be approached carefully. It is necessary to work for resolving them. These problems are an area for joint work of the government and the Federal Assembly.

The second area of activity is to ensure equal conditions for competition. At present, the state privileges some companies in comparison with others. They enjoy lower energy tariffs. They are allowed not to repay their debts. They enjoy numerous advantages. However, other companies - which formally operate in the same conditions - are in effect discriminated against. In fact, they pay for the privileges bestowed on the first category. Therefore, all unjustified concessions and privileges should be abolished, including direct and indirect subsidies to companies, no matter what reasons are given to justify them. Reasons will always be found. It is necessary to ensure equal treatment during the distribution of state funds, licences and quotas, and end the selective application of the bankruptcy procedure. This is an extremely important and very sensitive area of state activity. In some regions this has just become a method for settling accounts with political and economic challengers.

### Business should be freed from "administrative dictatorship"

The third area concerns liberating businessmen from administrative dictatorship. The state should move away from the practice of excessive interference in business operations step by step. The ability of bureaucrats to act at their own discretion and arbitrarily interpret legal regulations in the centre and in the regions infringes on the freedom of businessmen and creates habitat for corruption. It is necessary to ensure the use of directly applicable laws, reduce departmental instructions to a minimum and put an end to ambivalence in the interpretation of regulations. In addition to this, it is necessary to simplify the procedure for the registration of companies, analysis and consideration of investment projects and so on.

The existing customs system cannot be described as effective either. There exists a myth that it is allegedly possible to protect domestic manufacturers by manipulating tariff rates. To tell you frankly, I believed in this idea myself. However, given the current level of customs administration - I would like to stress this - given the current level of customs administration, this system to a great extent protects and encourages nothing other than corruption.

This is why, we must radically simplify the customs system and unify the tariff rates.

The fifth direction is to develop the financial infrastructure. The banking system must get rid of non-viable organizations. The banking activity should become transparent. The stock market should become an effective mechanism for mobilizing investments and channelling them into the most promising sectors of the economy.

### Priorities in social policy

The sixth direction is to have a realistic social policy. I am saying the sixth one, but it could have been named as the first one because of its significance.

At present the policy of overall state paternalism is not possible economically, and not expedient politically. The necessity to drop it is dictated both by the need to most efficiently use financial resources and by the intention to include development stimuli, to free an individual's potential, to make people responsible for themselves and for the well-being of their nearest and dearest.

Social policy means not just helping those in need, but investing in people's future, their health and in their professional, cultural and personal growth. This is why we will give priority to developing health care, education and culture.

The current system of social support, based on non-specified social benefits and allowances, is wasting the government's money by definition. It allows the rich to use public benefits at the expense of the poor.

Education and health care, though formally free, in effect have to be paid for and are sometimes beyond the reach of the less well-off. Child benefits are minuscule and take years to come through. Pensions are miserly and don't correspond to the true working contribution that has been made.

Dishonesty has become enshrined at state level - and it is perhaps appropriate to mention this when we are all gathered here in this hall. We pass many laws knowing in advance that there is no real financial backing for them - we push a decision through simply for reasons of political expediency, and give it no further thought. We have no alternative but to cut back on excessive social undertakings and make sure that we deliver strictly on those we retain. That is the only way to regain the people's trust in the state.

Another very important national task is to ensure financial underpinning for the pension system. The state must avert a crisis in that system brought about by the rapid ageing of Russia's population. So a mechanism needs to be brought in for cumulative financing of pensions. We have to move firmly towards such a system. It will need to be phased in but we absolutely have to move towards this.

We shall conduct social policy on the basis of the principles of accessibility to all and of acceptable quality - acceptable quality of fundamental social benefits. And benefits have to go first and foremost to those with incomes substantially lower that the subsistence minimum. Ministers' children can get by without child benefit and bankers' wives without unemployment benefit.

### Boundaries of the state should be defined

Esteemed colleagues: We all knew that indecisiveness on the part of the authorities and weakness on the part of the state bring economic and other reforms to nought. The authorities are obliged to operate on the basis of the law and of a single vertical chain of command formed in accordance with that law. We have created islands, separate little islands of authority with no bridges between them. We still lack effective interaction between different levels of authority. We have talked long and often about this. The centre and the territorial, regional and local authorities still compete among themselves - compete for powers. And these frequently destructive tussles are watched by those who benefit from such disorder, such arbitrariness, those who turn the lack of an effective state to their own advantage. And some would like to keep such a state of affairs going. This vacuum of authority has led to state functions being appropriated by private corporations and clans. They have surrounded themselves with their own shadowy groups, lobbying groups, and dubious security services using illegal means to obtain information.

At the same time, state functions and state institutions are different from entrepreneurship ones in that they must not be bought or sold, privatized or handed over to be used or leased. Professionals for whom the sole working criterion is the law are needed in state service. Otherwise the state opens up the route to corruption, and a moment can come when it will simply degenerate and cease being democratic. That is why we insist on just one dictatorship - the dictatorship of the law, although I know that many people dislike the expression. That is why it is so important to indicate the boundaries of the domain where the state is full and only master, to state precisely where it is final arbiter and to define those spheres where it should not meddle.

### Russia must be a federal, not a "decentralized" state

Federal bodies of executive power, responsible and displaying initiative, should become the engine of our policies. At the basis of their powers are the constitutional duty to ensure the strength of vertical structures of executive authority; a state-wide mandate of trust secured by means of the democratic election of the president; and a single strategy for domestic and foreign policy. But without coordinated work with the regional and local authorities, the federal bodies of power will get nowhere. Local power must also become effective. In essence, it is a question of collecting together all the resources of the state in order to implement a unified strategy for the development of the country.

One must admit that in Russia federal relations are incompletely built and undeveloped. Regional independence is frequently treated as a sanction for the disorganization of the state. We keep talking of the federation and its strengthening. We have been talking of this for years. However, we have to admit that we do not yet have a full-blown federal state. I want to stress this. We possess, we have created, a decentralized state. That is what we have done in recent years.

When the Russian constitution was adopted in 1993, federal statehood was seen as a worthy goal, towards which much painstaking work needed to be done. At the start of the 1990s, the centre farmed out many functions to the regions. It was a conscious, albeit partly forced, policy. But at the time it helped the Russian leadership to achieve its main goal, and I think it was justified as it helped to maintain the federation within its borders. This must be admitted. The easiest thing is to criticize what came before us. But very soon the authorities in a number of subjects of the federation began to feel the strength of central authority, and their response was not slow in coming.

### Chechnya "an extreme example" of decentralization

But I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the response came not from the centre and not from Moscow but from towns and villages. Local self-government bodies also started pulling the powers over to their side, now mostly the powers of the constituent parts of the federation. The authorities at all levels have been affected by this disease. Our common and sacred duty is to break this vicious circle.

Chechnya is an extreme example of unsolved federal problems. The situation in the republic has exacerbated to the extent that its territory became a bridgehead for the expansion of international terrorism in Russia. The initial reason for this was also the absence of state unity. And in 1999, Chechnya reminded us of the earlier made mistakes. Only a counter-terrorist operation could remove the threat of Russia's disintegration. Professional military helped preserve the dignity and integrity of the state. We bow to them. But at what price they did this?

Esteemed members of the Federation Council and State Duma deputies. The setting up of federal districts and the appointment of Russian president's representatives in these districts has become one of our first steps towards consolidating federalism. The essence of this decision is not to enlarge the regions, as this is sometimes being interpreted or presented, but to enlarge the structures of the president's vertical chain of command in the territories, not to remake the administrative and territorial borders but to raise the efficiency of the authorities, not to weaken regional authorities but to create conditions for streamlining federalism.

Our second move provides for the possibility of federal intervention in situations where local bodies of power trample upon the Russian constitution and federal laws and violate universal rights and freedoms of Russian citizens.

In the regions today a state body or an official can evade implementing a decision by the court that has recognized a law or another normative legal act as running counter to the constitution or federal legislation. They can continue to apply acts recognized as illegal by the court. It is common practice in our life nearly everywhere. This humiliation of the Russian court as a branch of federal authorities acting on the basis of the constitution is intolerable. Strictly speaking, it is a manifestation of what I have said: that our state is not a federate state but a decentralized state. And no tools have yet been created to see this process through to the end. Federal authorities and the president of Russia should have legal opportunities to restore order, and regional leaders should have the right to influence local authorities when the latter adopt unconstitutional decisions or trample upon citizens' freedoms. Under no circumstances can we weaken the powers of regional authorities - they are a link on which federal authorities cannot but rely.

Similar institutions of interference are present in many other federate states. They are applied extremely rarely but their very existence is a safe guarantee ensuring strict adherence to the constitution and federal laws. Even now, at the discussion stage of this problem, Russian regions have already begun restoring order. And we can see some obvious results in some regions.

### Upper house of parliament must be reformed

Our next move is reform of the Federation Council. It is also a move towards development of democracy and professional principles of parliamentary activity. Changing the principle of the formation of the Federation Council raises the question of how to organize a permanent dialogue between the heads of the constituent parts of the Russian Federation and the head of state on the main problems of state life and on the form of participation by the regions in the preparation and adoption of most important nationwide decisions. A state council under the Russian president can become such a form. The idea of such a council was expressed by some governors and, as the country's president, I am ready to support it.

Of course, this doesn't deny the need to further develop the local self-government system itself. It enjoys the protection of the federal constitution, and it is one of the fundamental foundations of people's power in Russia.

Esteemed colleagues. One of our primary tasks today is to establish order in the bodies of authority. But this is not the final aim, this is just the very first step towards modernizing the state. In order to tackle other serious problems it will be necessary to pool together the resources of the federal, regional and local authorities. The most important of these problems are:

to improve the political system and build an effective state which will serve as a guarantor of stable social development, a guarantor of human rights;

to level out and ensure equal opportunities to the constituent parts of the federation so that all citizens can enjoy the whole gamut of political, social and economic rights;

to create legal guarantees for the development of the Russian economy as an economy of free enterprise and business initiative of citizens;

to ensure accurate and effective implementation of economic strategies everywhere in Russia.

We will consistently tackle these three tasks to strengthen our statehood. To do this, we simply must consolidate the efforts of all levels and branches of power at present.

Concluding my speech, I would like to remind you that everyone who serves the state has their own responsibility before the state, before all Russian society. This responsibility is defined by the mandate of a deputy, governor or a government member.

Regardless of differences in our posts, we all have one duty in common, our duty before the people and our duty before our country.

It is impossible to simply make promises in Russia today. Many promises have already been made, and all the deadlines have expired. Decades of a difficult and unstable life are enough to demand real changes for the better. The Russian authorities are obliged to achieve changes in the near future.

We are all well aware how difficult it is to achieve this goal. But I am confident that we have enough reason and will power. If this is true, results will ensue. Stability and national progress will come; success and prosperity will come to Russia.

Thank you very much for your attention.

# Constitution of the Russian Federation

*(Below are excerpts from the text of the Constitution approved by Russian voters in a national referendum in December 1993. Students interested in the full text can find it online at <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/constit.html>.)*

We, the multinational people of the Russian Federation, united by a common destiny on our land, asserting human rights and liberties, civil peace and accord, preserving the historic unity of the state, proceeding from the commonly recognized principles of equality and self-determination of the peoples honoring the memory of our ancestors, who have passed on to us love of and respect for our homeland and faith in good and justice, reviving the sovereign statehood of Russia and asserting its immutable democratic foundations, striving to secure the well-being and prosperity of Russia and proceeding from a sense of responsibility for our homeland before the present and future generations, and being aware of ourselves as part of the world community, hereby approve the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

## Chapter 1. Fundamentals of the Constitutional System

***Article 1.*** The Russian Federation — Russia shall be a democratic federal rule-of-law state with the republican form of government. The names "Russian Federation" and "Russia" shall be equivalent.

***Article 2.*** Man, his rights and freedoms shall be the supreme value. It shall be a duty of the state to recognize, respect and protect the rights and liberties of man and citizen.

***Article 3.*** 1. The multinational people of the Russian Federation shall be the vehicle of sovereignty and the only source of power in the Russian Federation. 2. The people of the Russian Federation shall exercise their power directly, and also through organs of state power and local self-government . 3. The referendum and free elections shall be the supreme direct manifestation of the power of the people. 4. No one may arrogate to oneself power in the Russian Federation. Seizure of power or appropriation of power authorization shall be prosecuted under federal law.

***Article 4.*** 1. The sovereignty of the Russian Federation shall apply to its entire territory. 2. The Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws shall have supremacy throughout the entire territory of the Russian Federation. 3. The Russian Federation shall ensure the integrity and inviolability of its territory.

***Article 5.*** 1. The Russian Federation shall consist of republics, territories, regions, federal cities, an autonomous region and autonomous areas, which shall be equal subjects of the Russian Federation. 2. The republic (state) shall have its own constitution and legislation. A territory, region, federal city, autonomous region and autonomous area shall have its own charter and legislation 3. The federated structure of the Russian Federation shall be based on its state integrity, the uniform system of state power, delimitation of scopes of authority and powers between the bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, equality and self-determination of the peoples in the Russian Federation. 4. All the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be equal among themselves in relations with the Federal bodies of state power.

***Article 6.*** 1. Citizenship of the Russian Federation shall be acquired and terminated in accordance with the Federal law, and shall be one and equal irrespective of the grounds on which it has been acquired. 2. Every citizen of the Russian Federation shall have all the rights and liberties on its territory and bear equal duties, stipulated by the Constitution of the Russian Federation. 3. A citizen of the Russian Federation may not be stripped of citizenship or of the right to change it.

***Article 7.*** 1. The Russian Federation shall be a social state, whose policies shall be aimed at creating conditions which ensure a dignified life and free development of man. 2. The Russian Federation shall protect the work and health of its people, establish a guaranteed minimum wage, provide state support for family, motherhood, fatherhood and childhood, and also for the disabled and for elderly citizens, develop a system of social services and establish government pensions, benefits and other social security guarantees.

***Article 8.*** 1. Unity of economic space, free movement of goods, services and financial resources, support for competition and freedom of any economic activity shall be guaranteed in the Russian Federation. 2. Private, state, municipal and other forms of ownership shall be recognized and shall enjoy equal protection in the Russian Federation.

*Article 9.* 1. The land and other natural resources shall be used and protected in the Russian Federation as the basis of the life and activity of the peoples living on their respective territories. 2. The land and other natural resources may be in private, state municipal and other forms of ownership.

*Article 10.* State power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised on the basis of the separation of the legislative, executive and judiciary branches. The bodies of legislative, executive and judiciary powers shall be independent.

*Article 11.* 1. State power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised by the President of the Russian Federation, the Federal Assembly (Council of the Federation and State Duma), the government of the Russian Federation and courts of the Russian Federation. 2. State power in the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be exercised by the organs of state authority formed by them. 3. The scopes of authority and powers of the bodies of state authority of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state authority of the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be delimited under this Constitution, Federal and other Treaties on the delimitation of scopes of authority and powers.

*Article 12.* Local self-government shall be recognized and guaranteed in the Russian Federation. Local self-government shall operate independently within the bounds of its authority. The bodies of local self-government shall not be part of the state power bodies.

*Article 13.* 1. Ideological plurality shall be recognized in the Russian Federation. 2. No ideology may be instituted as a state-sponsored or mandatory ideology. 3. Political plurality and the multi-party system shall be recognized in the Russian Federation. 4. Public associations shall be equal before the law. 5. The establishment and the activities of public associations, whose aims and actions are directed at forcible alteration of the fundamentals of constitutional governance and violation of the integrity of the Russian Federation and undermining of the security of the state, the forming of armed units, the incitement of social, racial, national and religious strife shall be prohibited.

*Article 14.* 1. The Russian Federation shall be a secular state. No religion may be instituted as state-sponsored or mandatory religion. 2. Religious associations shall be separated from the state, and shall be equal before the law.

*Article 15.* 1. The Constitution of the Russian Federation shall have supreme legal force and direct effect, and shall be applicable throughout the entire territory of the Russian Federation. Laws and other legal acts adopted by the Russian Federation may not contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation. 2. Organs of state power and local self-government, officials, citizens and their associations must comply with the laws and the Constitution of the Russian Federation. 3. The laws shall be officially published. Unpublished laws shall not be applicable. No regulatory legal act affecting the rights, liberties or duties of the human being and citizen may apply unless it has been published officially for general knowledge.

4. The commonly recognized principles and norms of the international law and the international treaties of the Russian Federation shall be a component part of its legal system. If an international treaty of the Russian Federation stipulates other rules than those stipulated by the law, the rules of the international treaty shall apply.

*Article 16.* 1. The provisions of the present Chapter of the Constitution shall be the foundations of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation and may not be changed except as provided for in this Constitution. 2. No other provisions of this Constitution may contravene the foundations of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation.

## Chapter 2. Rights and Liberties of Man and Citizen

*Article 17.* 1. The basic rights and liberties in conformity with the commonly recognized principles and norms of the international law shall be recognized and guaranteed in the Russian Federation and under this Constitution.

2. The basic rights and liberties of the human being shall be inalienable and shall belong to everyone from birth. 3. The exercise of rights and liberties of a

human being and citizen may not violate the rights and liberties of other persons.

***Article 18.*** The rights and liberties of man and citizen shall have direct effect. They shall determine the meaning, content and application of the laws, and the activities of the legislative and executive branches and local self-government, and shall be secured by the judiciary.

***Article 19.*** 1. All people shall be equal before the law and in the court of law. 2. The state shall guarantee the equality of rights and liberties regardless of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, property or employment status, residence, attitude to religion, convictions, membership of public associations or any other circumstance. Any restrictions of the rights of citizens on social, racial, national, linguistic or religious grounds shall be forbidden. 3. Man and woman shall have equal rights and liberties and equal opportunities for their pursuit.

***Article 20.*** 1. Everyone shall have the right to life. 2. Capital punishment may, until its abolition, be instituted by the federal law as exceptional punishment for especially grave crimes against life, with the accused having the right to have his case considered in a law court by jury.

***Article 21.*** 1. The dignity of the person shall be protected by the state. No circumstance may be used as a pretext for belittling it. 2. No one may be subjected to torture, violence or any other harsh or humiliating treatment or punishment. No one may be subjected to medical, scientific or other experiments without his or her free consent.

***Article 22.*** 1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom and personal inviolability. 2. Arrest, detention and keeping in custody shall be allowed only by an order of a court of law. No person may be detained for more than 48 hours without an order of a court of law.

***Article 23.*** 1. Everyone shall have the right to privacy, to personal and family secrets, and to protection of one's honor and good name. 2. Everyone shall have the right to privacy of correspondence, telephone communications, mail, cables and other communications. Any restriction of this right shall be allowed only under an order of a court of law.

***Article 24.*** 1. It shall be forbidden to gather, store, use and disseminate information on the private life of any person without his/her consent. 2. The bodies of state authority and the bodies of local self-government and the officials thereof shall provide to each citizen access to any documents and materials directly affecting his/her rights and liberties unless otherwise stipulated under the law.

***Article 25.*** The home shall be inviolable. No one shall have the right to enter the home against the will of persons residing in it except in cases stipulated by the federal law or under an order of a court of law.

***Article 26.*** 1. Everyone shall have the right to determine and state his national identity. No one can be forced to determine and state his national identity. 2. Everyone shall have the right to use his native language, freely choose the language of communication, education, training and creative work.

***Article 27.*** 1. Everyone who is lawfully staying on the territory of the Russian Federation shall have the right to freedom of movement and to choose the place to stay and reside. 2. Everyone shall be free to leave the boundaries of the Russian Federation. The citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to freely return into the Russian Federation.

***Article 28.*** Everyone shall be guaranteed the right to freedom of conscience, to freedom of religious worship, including the right to profess, individually or jointly with others, any religion, or to profess no religion, to freely choose, possess and disseminate religious or other beliefs, and to act in conformity with them.

***Article 29.*** 1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought and speech. 2. Propaganda or campaigning inciting social, racial, national or religious hatred and strife is impermissible. The propaganda of social, racial, national, religious or language superiority is forbidden. 3. No one may be coerced into expressing one's views and convictions or into renouncing them. 4. Everyone shall have the right to seek, get, transfer, produce and disseminate information by any lawful means. The list of information constituting the state secret shall be established by the federal law. 5. The freedom of the mass media shall be guaranteed. Censorship shall be prohibited.

***Article 30.*** 1. Everyone shall have the right to association, including the right to create trade unions in order to protect one's interests. The freedom of public associations activities shall be guaranteed. 2.

No one may be coerced into joining any association or into membership thereof.

*Article 31.* Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to gather peacefully, without weapons, and to hold meetings, rallies, demonstrations, marches and pickets.

*Article 32.* 1. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to participate in the administration of the affairs of the state both directly and through their representatives. 2. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to elect and to be elected to bodies of state governance and to organs of local self-government, as well as take part in a referendum. 3. Citizens who have been found by a court of law to be under special disability, and also citizens placed in detention under a court verdict, shall not have the right to elect or to be elected. 4. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have equal access to state service. 5. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to participate in administering justice.

*Article 33.* Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to turn personally to, and send individual and collective petitions to state bodies and bodies of local self-government.

*Article 34.* 1. Everyone shall have the right to freely use his or her abilities and property for entrepreneurial or any other economic activity not prohibited by the law. 2. No economic activity aimed at monopolization or unfair competition shall be allowed.

*Article 35.* 1. The right of private property shall be protected by law. 2. Everyone shall have the right to have property in his or her ownership, to possess, use and manage it either individually or jointly with other persons. 3. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of his or her property unless on the basis of decision by a court of law. Property can be forcibly alienated for state needs only on condition of a preliminary and equal compensation. 4. The right of inheritance shall be guaranteed.

*Article 36.* 1. Citizens and their associations shall have the right to have land in their private ownership. 2. The possession, use and management of the land and other natural resources shall be freely exercised by their owners provided this does not cause damage to the environment or infringe upon the rights and interests of other persons. 3. The terms and procedures for the use of land shall be determined on the basis of federal laws.

*Article 37.* 1. Work shall be free. Everyone shall have the right to make free use of his or her abilities for work and to choose a type of activity and occupation. 2. Forced labor shall be prohibited. 3. Everyone shall have the right to work under conditions meeting the requirements of safety and hygiene, to remuneration for work without any discrimination whatsoever and not below the statutory minimum wage, and also the right to security against unemployment. 4. The right to individual and collective labor disputes with the use of means of resolution thereof established by federal law, including the right to strike, shall be recognized. 5. Everyone shall have the right to rest and leisure. A person having a work contract shall be guaranteed the statutory duration of the work time, days off and holidays, and paid annual vacation.

*Article 38.* 1. Motherhood and childhood, and the family shall be under state protection. 2. Care for children and their upbringing shall be the equal right and duty of the parents. 3. Employable children who have reached 18 years old shall care for their non-employable-parents.

*Article 39.* 1. Everyone shall be guaranteed social security in old age, in case of disease, invalidity, loss of breadwinner, to bring up children and in other cases established by law. 2. State pensions and social benefits shall be established by laws. 3. Voluntary social insurance, development of additional forms of social security and charity shall be encouraged.

*Article 40.* 1. Everyone shall have the right to a home. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of a home. 2. State bodies and organs of local self-government shall encourage home construction and create conditions for the realization of the right to a home. 3. Low-income citizens and other citizens, defined by the law, who are in need of housing shall be housed free of charge or for affordable pay from government, municipal and other housing funds in conformity with the norms stipulated by the law.

*Article 41.* 1. Everyone shall have the right to health care and medical assistance. Medical assistance shall be made available by state and municipal health car 2. The Russian Federation shall finance federal health care and health-building programs, take measures to develop state, municipal and private health care systems, encourage activities contributing to the strengthening of the man's health, to the development of physical culture and sport, and to ecological, sanitary and epidemiologic welfare. 3. Concealment by officials of facts and circumstances posing hazards to human life and health shall involve liability in conformity with the federal law.

***Article 42.*** Everyone shall have the right to a favorable environment, reliable information about its condition and to compensation for the damage caused to his or her health or property by ecological violations.

***Article 43.*** 1. Everyone shall have the right to education. 2. The accessibility and gratuity of preschool, general secondary and vocational secondary education in public and municipal educational institutions and enterprises shall be guaranteed. 3. Everyone shall have the right to receive, free of charge and on a competitive basis, higher education in a state or municipal educational institution or enterprise. 4. Basic general education shall be mandatory. Parents or persons substituting for them shall make provisions for their children to receive basic general education. 5. The Russian Federation shall institute federal state educational standards and support various forms of education and self-education.

***Article 44.*** 1. Everyone shall be guaranteed freedom of literary, artistic, scientific, intellectual and other types of creative activity and tuition. Intellectual property shall be protected by the law. 2. Everyone shall have the right to participation in cultural life, to the use of institutions of culture, and access to cultural values. 3. Everyone shall care for the preservation of the historic and cultural heritage and safeguard landmarks of history and culture.

***Article 45.*** 1. State protection for human rights and liberties in the Russian Federation shall be guaranteed. 2. Everyone shall have the right to defend his or her rights and liberties by any means not prohibited by the law.

***Article 46.*** 1. Everyone shall be guaranteed protection of his or her rights and liberties in a court of law. 2. The decisions and actions (or inaction) of state organs, organs of local self-government, public associations and officials may be appealed against in a court of law 3. In conformity with the international treaties of the Russian Federation, everyone shall have the right to turn to interstate organs concerned with the protection of human rights and liberties when all the means of legal protection available within the state have been exhausted.

***Article 47.*** 1. No one may be denied the right to having his or her case reviewed by the court and the judge under whose jurisdiction the given case falls under the law. 2. Anyone charged with a crime has the right to have his or her case reviewed by a court of law with the participation of jurors in cases stipulated by the federal law.

***Article 48.*** 1. Everyone shall be guaranteed the right to qualified legal counsel. Legal counsel shall be provided free of charge in cases stipulated by the law. 2. Every person who has been detained, taken into custody or charged with a crime shall have the right to legal counsel (defense attorney) from the moment of, respectively, detention or indictment.

***Article 49.*** 1. Everyone charged with a crime shall be considered not guilty until his or her guilt has been proven in conformity with the procedures stipulated by the federal law and established by the verdict of a court of law. 2. The defendant shall not be obliged to prove his or her innocence. 3. The benefit of doubt shall be interpreted in favor of the defendant.

***Article 50.*** 1. No one may be repeatedly convicted for the same offense. 2. In the administration of justice no evidence obtained in violation of the federal law shall be allowed. 3. Everyone sentenced for a crime shall have the right to have the sentence reviewed by a higher court ,according to the procedure instituted by the federal law, and also the right to plea for clemency or mitigation punishment.

***Article 51.*** 1. No one shall be obliged to give evidence against himself or herself, for his or her spouse and close relatives, the range of which shall be established by federal law 2. The federal law may stipulate other exemptions from the obligation to give evidence.

***Article 52.*** The rights of persons who have sustained harm from crimes and abuses of power shall be protected by the law. The state shall guarantee the victims access to justice and compensation for damage.

***Article 53.*** Everyone shall have the right to compensation by the state for the damage caused by unlawful actions (or inaction) of state organs, or their officials.

*Article 54.* 1. The law instituting or aggravating the liability of a person shall have no retroactive force. 2. No one may be held liable for an action which was not recognized as an offense at the time of its commitment. If liability for an offense has been lifted or mitigated after its perpetration, the new law shall apply.

*Article 55.* 1. The listing of the basic rights and liberties in the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall not be interpreted as the denial or belittlement of the other commonly recognized human and citizens' rights and liberties. 2. No laws denying or belittling human and civil rights and liberties may be is sued in the Russian Federation. 3. Human and civil rights and liberties may be restricted by the federal law only to the extent required for the protection of the fundamentals of the constitutional system, morality, health, rights and lawful interests of other persons, for ensuring the defense of the country and the security of the state.

*Article 56.* 1. Individual restrictions of rights and liberties with identification of the extent and term of their duration may be instituted in conformity with the federal constitutional law under conditions of the state of emergency in order to ensure the safety of citizens and protection of the constitutional system. 2. A state of emergency throughout the territory of the Russian Federation and in individual areas thereof may be introduced in the circumstances and in conformity with the procedures defined by the federal constitutional law. 3. The rights and liberties stipulated by Articles 20, 21, 23 (part 1), 24, 28, 34 (part 1), 40 (part 1), 46-54 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall not be subject to restriction.

*Article 57.* Everyone shall pay lawful taxes and fees. Laws introducing new taxes or worsening the situation of tax payers shall not have retroactive force.

*Article 58.* Everyone shall be obliged to preserve nature and the environment, and care for natural wealth.

*Article 59.* 1. Defense of the homeland shall be a duty and obligation of the citizen of the Russian Federation. 2. The citizen of the Russian Federation shall do military service inconformity with the federal law. 3. The citizen of the Russian Federation whose convictions and faith are at odds with military service, and also in other cases stipulated by the federal law sshall have the right to the substitution of an alternative civil service for military service.

*Article 60.* The citizen of the Russian Federation shall be recognized to be of legal age and may independently exercise his rights and duties in full upon reaching the age of 18.

*Article 61.* 1. The citizen of the Russian Federation may not be deported out of Russia or extradited to another state. 2. The Russian Federation shall guarantee its citizens defense and patronage beyond its boundaries.

*Article 62.* 1. The citizen of the Russian Federation may have the citizenship of a foreign state (dual citizenship) in conformity with the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation. 2. Possession of the citizenship of a foreign state by the citizen of the Russian Federation shall not belittle his or her ranks and liberties or exempt him or her from the duties stemming from Russian citizenship unless otherwise stipulated by the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation. 3. Foreign citizens and stateless persons shall enjoy in the Russian Federation the rights of its citizens and bear their duties with the exception of cases stipulated by the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation.

*Article 63.* 1. The Russian Federation shall grant political asylum to foreign citizens and stateless citizens in conformity with the commonly recognized norms of the international law. 2. The extradition of persons persecuted for their political views or any actions (or inaction), which are not qualified as criminal by the law of the Russian Federation, to other states shall not be allowed in the Russian Federation. The extradition of persons charged with crimes and also the hand-over of convicts for serving time in other countries shall be effected on the basis of the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation.

*Article 64.* The provisions of these articles form the basis of personal rights in the Russian Federation and may not be changed other than by the means set forth in this constitution.

## Chapter 3. Russian Federation

*Article 68.* 1. The state language of the Russian Federation throughout its territory shall be the Russian language. 2. The republics shall have the right to institute their own state languages. They shall be used alongside the state language of the Russian Federation in bodies of state power, bodies of local self-government and state institutions of the republics. 3. The Russian Federation shall guarantee all its peoples the right to preserve their native language and to create the conditions for its study and development.

*Article 69.* The Russian Federation guarantees the rights of small indigenous peoples in accordance with the generally accepted principles and standards of international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation.

## Chapter 4. President of the Russian Federation

*Article 80.* 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall be the head of state. 2. The President shall be the guarantor of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, and of human and civil rights and freedoms. In accordance with the procedure established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation, he shall take measures to protect the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, its independence and state integrity, and ensure concerted functioning and interaction of all bodies of state power. 3. The President of the Russian Federation shall define the basic domestic and foreign policy guidelines of the state in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws. 4. The President of the Russian Federation as head of state shall represent the Russian Federation inside the country and in international relations.

*Article 81.* 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall be elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Russian Federation on the basis of general, equal and direct vote by secret ballot. 2. A citizen of the Russian Federation not younger than 35, who has resided in the Russian Federation for not less than 10 years, may be elected President of the Russian Federation. 3. No one person shall hold the office of President of the Russian Federation for more than two terms in succession. 4. The procedure for electing the President of the Russian Federation shall be determined by federal law.

*Article 82.* 1. At his inauguration the President of the Russian Federation shall take the following oath to the people: "I vow, in the performance of my powers as the President of the Russian Federation to respect and protect the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, to observe and protect the Constitution of the Russian Federation, to protect the sovereignty and independence, security and integrity of the state and to serve the people faithfully." 2. The oath shall be taken in a solemn atmosphere in the presence of members of the Council of the Federation, deputies of the State Duma and judges of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation.

*Article 83.* The President of the Russian Federation shall: a) appoint Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation subject to consent of the State Duma; b) have the right to preside over meetings of the Government of the Russian Federation; c) decide on resignation of the Government of the Russian Federation; d) introduce to the State Duma a candidature for appointment to the office of the Chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation; submit to the State Duma the proposal on relieving the Chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation of his duties; e) appoint and dismiss deputy chairmen of the Government of the Russian Federation and federal ministers as proposed by the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation; f) submit to the Federation Council candidates for appointment to the office of judges of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation and the Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation as well as the candidate for Prosecutor- General of the Russian Federation; submit to the Federation Council the proposal on relieving the Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation of his duties; appoint the judges of other federal courts. g) form and head the Security Council of the Russian Federation, the status of which is determined by federal law; h) endorse the military doctrine of the Russian Federation; i) form the staff of the President of the Russian Federation; j) appoint and dismiss plenipotentiary representatives of the President of the Russian Federation; k) appoint and dismiss the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation; l) appoint and recall, after consultations with the respective committees or commissions of the Federal Assembly, diplomatic representatives of the Russian Federation to foreign states and international organizations.

*Article 84.* The President of the Russian

Federation shall: a) call elections to the chambers of the State Duma in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal law; b) dissolve the State Duma in cases and under procedures envisaged by the Constitution of the Russian Federation; c) call a referendum under procedures established by federal constitutional law; d) introduce draft laws in the State Duma; e) sign and publish federal laws; f) present annual messages to the Federal Assembly on the situation in the country and on basic directions of the internal and external policies of the state.

***Article 85.*** 1. The President of the Russian Federation may use dispute-settlement procedures to settle differences between organs of state power of the Russian Federation and organs of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, and also between organs of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation. If no decision is agreed upon, he may turn the dispute over for review by the respective court of law. 2. The President of the Russian Federation shall have the right to suspend acts by organs of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation if such acts contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws, the international obligations of the Russian Federation, or violate human and civil rights and liberties, pending the resolution of the issue in appropriate court.

***Article 86.*** The President of the Russian Federation shall: a) supervise the conduct of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation; b) conduct negotiations and sign international treaties of the Russian Federation; c) sign instruments of ratification; d) accept credentials and instruments of recall of diplomatic representatives accredited with him.

***Article 87.*** 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall be the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation. In the event of aggression against the Russian Federation or an immediate threat thereof, the President of the Russian Federation shall introduce martial law on the territory of the Russian Federation or in areas thereof with immediate notification thereof of the Federation Council and the State Duma.

***Article 88.*** Under the circumstances and procedures envisaged by the Federal Constitutional Law, the President of the Russian Federation shall impose a state of emergency on the territory of the Russian Federation or in areas thereof with immediate notification of the Federation Council and the State Duma.

***Article 89.*** The President of the Russian Federation shall: a) resolve issues of citizenship of the Russian Federation and of granting political asylum; b) award state decorations of the Russian Federation, confer honorary titles of the Russian Federation and top military ranks and top specialized titles; c) grant pardon.

***Article 90.*** 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall issue decrees and executive orders. 2. The decrees and orders of the President of the Russian Federation shall be binding throughout the territory of the Russian Federation. 3. The decrees and orders of the President of the Russian Federation may not contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation or federal laws.

***Article 91.*** The President of the Russian Federation shall possess immunity.

***Article 92.*** 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall assume his powers from the time he shall be sworn in and terminate his exercise of such powers with the expiry of his tenure of office from the time the newly-elected President of the Russian Federation shall have been sworn in. 2. The powers of the President of the Russian Federation shall be terminated in the event of his resignation or sustained inability due to health to discharge his powers or in the event of impeachment. In such cases new elections of the President of the Russian Federation shall be held not later than three months after the early termination of the President's powers. 3. In all cases when the President of the Russian Federation shall be unable to perform his duties such duties shall be temporarily performed by the chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation. The acting president of the Russia n Federation shall have no right to dissolve the State Duma, call a referendum or make proposals on amendment or revision of the provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

***Article 93.*** 1. The President of the Russian Federation may be impeached by the Federation Council only on the basis of charges put forward against him of high treason or some other grave crime, confirmed by a ruling of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation on the presence of indicia of crime in the President's actions and by a ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation confirming that the procedure of bringing charges has been observed. 2. The ruling of the State Duma on putting forward charges and the decision of the Federation Council on impeachment of the President shall be passed by the votes of two-thirds of the total number in each of the chambers at the initiative of at least one-third of the deputies of the State Duma and in the presence of the opinion of a special commission formed by the State Duma. 3. The decision of the Federation Council on impeaching the President of the Russian Federation shall be passed within three months of the charges being brought against the President by the State Duma. The charges against the President shall be considered to be rejected if the decision of the Federation Council shall not be passed.

# Supplementary Reading

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Ellman, Michael and Kontorovich, Vladimir, editors. *The Disintegration of the Soviet Economic System* (New York: Routledge, 1992). 281 pages.

Green, Barbara. *The Dynamics of Russian Politics: A Short History* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994). 236 pages.

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Pelevin, Victor. *A Werewolf Problem in Central Russia and Other Stories* (New York: New Directions, 1998). 256 pages.

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Yergin, Daniel and Gustafson, Thane. *Russia in 2010 and What It Means for the World* (New York: Random House, 1993). 300 pages.

The website <http:/www.cdi.org/russia/johnson> offers an archive of contemporary press accounts about Russia.

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